



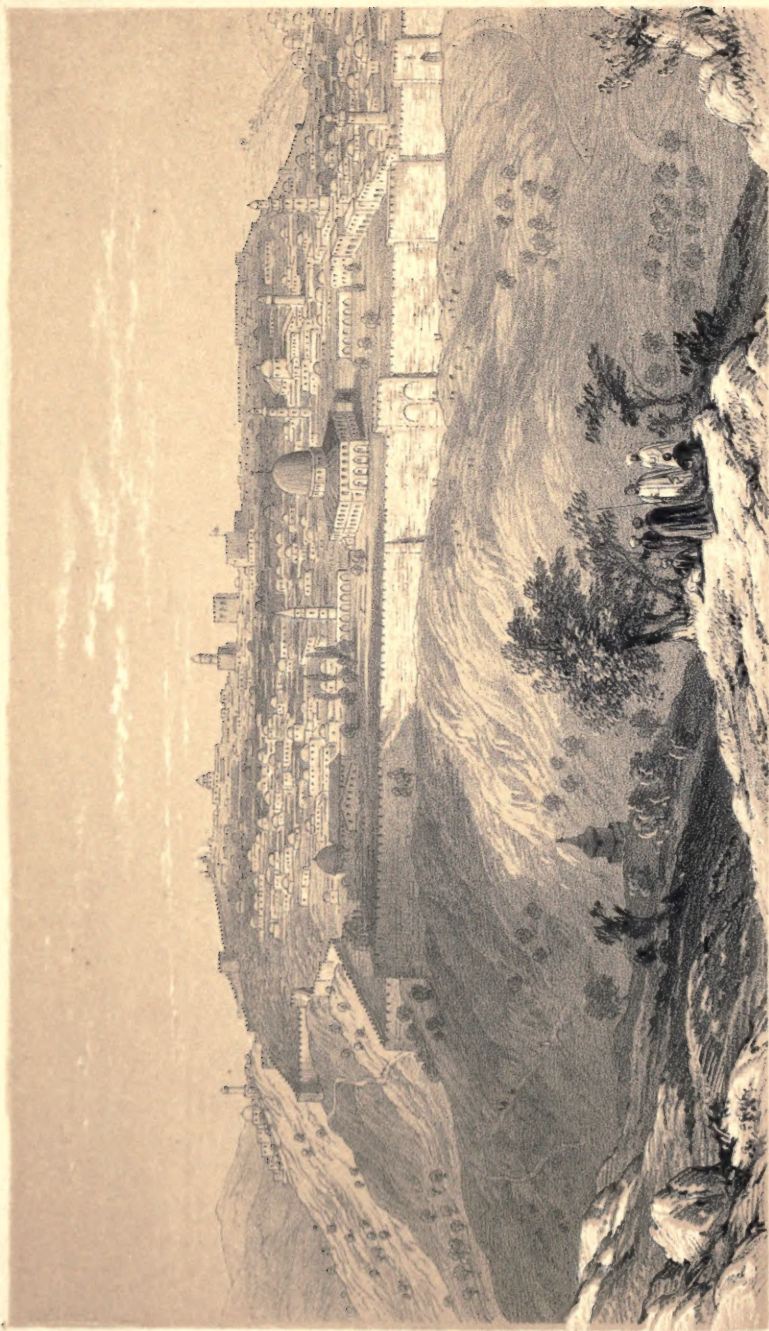






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JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

Eng. & Lith. by J. C. Smith

The Holy City;
OR
HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF
JERUSALEM;
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS ANTIQUITIES AND OF ITS
PRESENT CONDITION.

BY THE
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FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
AND LATE CHAPLAIN TO BISHOP ALEXANDER,
AT JERUSALEM.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM SKETCHES BY THE REV. W. F. WITTS, B.A.,
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View of the Dead Sea from the W. of Mt. of Olives.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.
CAMBRIDGE: T. STEVENSON.

M.DCCC.XLV.

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TO THE
PROVOSTS, FELLOWS, AND SCHOLARS
OF THE
TWO ROYAL AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS
OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH:
AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
FOR BENEFITS RECEIVED IN THOSE COLLEGES,
THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

To attempt a full and connected narrative of the various events which have befallen the most ancient City of the world from its foundation to the present day, would require volumes, and was not contemplated in the present work; the design of which is, simply to gather together into one view such notices of Jerusalem as are not easily within the reach of the English reader. I have already far exceeded the limits which I originally proposed to myself. In the prosecution of my main object, it was necessary to avoid extraneous discussions, however strong the temptation to enter on them, and to pass very lightly over much ground on which I would fain have lingered. Where I have entered into details in the historical part, I had generally some definite purpose in view, though it may not always be apparent to the reader, and did not seem necessary or desirable to declare it. The topography and antiquities were kept always in view in composing the historical chapters; and I was careful to note all the passages which would throw light on what I hope may prove the most valuable and successful part of my undertaking. This will explain the minute detail of the progress of the siege under Titus, and again, by the Crusaders. The earlier part of the Christian period has been fully dwelt on, with a view to remove the common, but most erroneous supposition, that the ancient records of the Church of *Ælia* have hopelessly perished, and that Eusebius is its earliest historian, instead of a mere transcriber of contemporaneous testimony. Where later writers

have been full and explicit it was unnecessary to enlarge; and I have satisfied myself with a bare outline, leaving it to be filled up from other quarters, to which I have referred.

It was impossible to write on the subject of Jerusalem without recording, at almost every page, the remarkable fulfilment of numerous prophecies, relating to that city and its inhabitants; but as it would have been no kindness to the reader to deprive him of the satisfaction of gathering flowers in this interesting and important field, with his own hand, and the subject was foreign to my purpose, I have passed them in silence.

And now, should it be asked, what occasion there was to inflict upon the patient public another volume, on a subject with which the press has been teeming for several seasons, I confess that it requires explanation, and I will offer the best apology I can. A work of much research has now been for some years before the world, one unavowed but ill-disguised object of which is to bring discredit on the early local traditions of Palestine, so as ultimately to involve the venerable Fathers of the Church in the charge of dishonesty or unaccountable ignorance. The affectation of candour and impartiality with which the inquiry into the value of ecclesiastical traditions is there conducted, has given an additional weight to the observations in the minds of those who have neither the means nor the opportunity of testing their accuracy for themselves; so that much higher value has been set upon the arguments than they deserved. I do not hesitate to declare that one object of the present volume is to expose the fallacy of many conclusions, argued out very often on insufficient premises, or in contravention of historical or topographical phenomena, by the author of the "Biblical Researches in

Palestine," in the hope that the consideration of facts, which he has either overlooked or neglected, may prove, what some might imagine requires no demonstration, that the evidence of a partial witness of the nineteenth century is insufficient against the voice of catholic antiquity. My motive I need not be ashamed to avow.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century by that author, or others, the slightest knowledge of the formularies of the Church of England, or of the writings of her more eminent divines, convincingly proves, that they who remodelled our Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, proposed to themselves for a pattern of pure and primitive Christianity that very age which is now represented as sunk in the lowest depth of superstition or vice; and, consequently, one who values our existing institutions must needs feel that the imputation deeply affects the character of those great men, if not for honesty, at least for sound judgment and discretion, or he must feel too deeply indebted to the Nicene age to hear its most distinguished doctors calumniated, and feel no interest in the quarrel.

A longer residence in Jerusalem than falls to the lot of common travellers, the diligent investigation of its antiquities on the spot, with the use of a carefully chosen library, have at least afforded me opportunities of arriving at a right decision on many points; and may, I trust, excuse my presumption in pleading for a hearing in behalf of antiquity, whose cause seems to have been entirely given up before the champion of novelty, whom many subsequent travellers, without investigating for themselves, have followed with marvellous subserviency. And it may add somewhat to the value of my

remarks to acknowledge that several of his theories are so very plausible, and appear at first sight to be so strongly supported, that I was myself for some time inclined to adopt many of them, until further consideration and study convinced me that they were wholly untenable. I may specify particularly the interesting subject of the Temple-area and the Antonia, as points on which I expected that I should wholly coincide with his views; but on which I venture to hope that he himself will acknowledge he was mistaken. For as no ecclesiastical tradition is involved in this question, there can be no temptation to either party to persist in a mistake; inasmuch as the argument for or against their general credibility cannot be at all affected by the concession; nor will any reasonable person imagine that a writer's credit is injured by the demonstration or acknowledgment of error on a point of so much obscurity.

I learn from a number of a magazine, of which Dr Robinson is editor, that so long ago as November 1843, he had received instructions from various quarters "that some of his statements and positions in respect to the topography of Jerusalem, and some other places, were likely to be assailed, in carrying on a *crusade* in favour of the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre." Who may be the "wandering hermit," prepared to "wake the storm of war" in this good cause, I cannot imagine, but I sincerely hope that I may not be interfering with the task of one better qualified than myself to perform it. My only desire is to act as a humble "man-at-arms" in the attempt "to tear from the unbelievers the precious Tomb of the Captain of our Salvation;" and in common with all engaged in the "Holy War," I must feel very grateful to a generous adversary for placing me under such

a glorious banner, thereby, I trust unwittingly, arraying himself with the disciples of the Koran and the Crescent, the avowed enemies not of the Sepulchre alone, but of the Holy Church Catholic.

Should it be thought that the constant reference to one author has invested the controversy with a private and personal character, I can truly say that the result was felt to be as inevitable as it is undesirable. The "Biblical Researches" have obtained, and on many accounts have deserved, so much celebrity in England and in Germany, and so much attention has been devoted by the writer to this particular subject, that he stands forth necessarily in the first ranks as Chief-tain of the *unbelieving* array, and as such must bear the brunt of the battle. And may I be permitted to express a hope, that while fighting under our respective colours, we shall all remember, that the only cause worth contending for is *Truth*, and that we may imitate not only the zeal but the courtesy of Christian and Saracenic warfare?

It remains only that I express my obligations to those who have in any way aided me in my undertaking. The services of some have been acknowledged in the notes, but I must here mention two dear friends, my companions in Jerusalem, and fellow-travellers at different times in Palestine, The Reverend W. F. Wits of my own College, to whom I am indebted for the illustrations, and who has further undertaken the labour of editorship during my absence from England,—and the Reverend J. Rowlands of Queens' College, in the same University, whose early suggestions at Jerusalem have exercised a greater influence over this work than either

of us are aware of. But for the solicitation of the former the work would not have been undertaken ; the intelligent sympathy and diligent research of the latter have done much towards qualifying me to perform it.

Lastly, I would tender my thanks to his Excellency the Director of the Imperial Library at St Petersburg, and to two of the Librarians, for their great courtesy to a stranger. The attentions of Dr Gottwald and Dr Dorn, to whose kindness I was indebted for materials for my work at a distance from my own library, will not readily be forgotten. May their interest in Asiatic research derive some gratification from this volume, as a small compensation for the trouble which it has occasioned them.

ST PETERSBURG,

Feast of the Epiphany, 1845.

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- Reference.**
- 1 Waiting place of the Jews
 - 2 Mekkané or Gad's Office
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 - 6 Auberge of the Knights of St. John
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 - 11 Arch of the "Exce Homo"
 - 12 Church of the Flagellation
 - 13 Two Chambers of large stones

HILL OF EVIL COUNSEL

D^o in the time of Aarippa.

1

Engraved by I. Dower, Pentonville.



EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

As the illustrations have been introduced with a view to the topography, it has been thought that the following remarks may add to their value. By *right* and *left* in the description, the reader is to understand that position with reference to himself.

1. FRONTISPIECE.

JERUSALEM, FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

The spectator is looking west, over the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat, or the Valley of the Kedron: the pile of buildings on the left, outside the walls, is now known as Neby Daoud; it comprehends the Tomb of David and the Cœnaculum, (see p. 417), and is situated on the part of Mount Zion now excluded from the city, (p. 415). On the right, within the city, the lofty dome marks the Armenian Convent of St James, (p. 455). Beneath this, is a long building, with a dome, this is the Church of the Purification, built by Justinian, (p. 331), afterwards converted into the Mosk el-Aksa, (p. 334). The dark ridge sloping down to the left is Ophel, (p. 330). Beneath the church is seen the top of the Pillar of Absalom, standing in the valley, (p. 374). The three towers to the right of the Armenian Convent compose the modern citadel, and the one distinguished by the flag (which only flies on Fridays) is the Castle of David, or the Tower of the Pisans, the probable site of the ancient Hippiæ tower, (p. 105). The Mosk of Omar, with its courts, cannot be mistaken, (p. 205). Beneath this, in the wall, is the Golden Gate, (p. 328). The two domes, above this, belong to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the hinder one covers the Sacred Cave itself, (p. 298), the other belongs to the Greek Church, (p. 299). To the extreme right of the view is the Gate of St Stephen, (p. 364).

2. JERUSALEM, FROM THE NORTH.

On the extreme left is the Mount of Olives, once crowned by the Church of the Ascension, (p. 365). Below this the Valley of the Kedron, from which rises Bezetha, obscuring the Mosk of Omar, whose dome is visible above it, (p. 282). Over the Mosk is seen the Hill of Evil Council, (p. 410). To the right of Bezetha the ridge of Acra is visible crossed by the city walls, (p. 283). The cupola of the Armenian Convent, the two domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Castle of David will be easily found by consulting the description of the frontispiece. The road to the city passes the Tombs of the Kings (p. 424), through an extensive olive-grove.

3. WEST VIEW OF MOUNT ZION.

This is taken from the head of the Valley of Hinnom (406, 431), the course of which is seen, bending to the right, round Mount Zion, part of which is without the city-walls, (p. 218). Without the walls, on the right, is seen the Tomb of David, &c. (p. 415), and within the large Armenian Convent of St James, (p. 455), with its garden in front; to the left of which is the fortress, with the Hippic Tower, &c. (pp. 105, 217, 225), and below is the Jaffa Gate.

4. ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The tower on the left is an ancient belfry; it has suffered severely from earthquakes at various times. The date of this and of the windows and doors is disputed (298—9).

5. ACRA, BEZETHA, AND THE SCOPUS.

The view looks east, along the northern line of wall, the scene of the operations of the Crusaders and of Saladin, (p. 217). It is taken from the north-west angle of the present walls, within which are the remains of Tancred's Tower, (p. 217). It looks over the Tyropæon, (p. 273), to the hill Acra, (p. 277), and shews on the left an ancient stone quarry, called the Cave of Jeremiah, probably included in the second wall of Josephus, (p. 283). Beyond this is seen another hill, with olive-trees. This is Bezetha, (p. 282), and the high ground behind is the Scopus where Titus first encamped, (p. 110).

6. THE DAMASCUS GATE.

This gate, which stands at the head of the Valley of the Tyropæon, in the north wall, probably occupies the site of the Gate of Ephraim, (p. 391). It was called the St Stephen's Gate, in the time of the Crusaders, (p. 364). It is now known as Bab-es-Sham (the Damascus Gate), or Bab-el-Amûd (the Gate of the Column). It is the handsomest gate now existing, and the new Pashas make their entrance through it. It is sometimes called, by the Moslems, "The Gate of Power." Immediately within this gate, on either hand, are two ruined chambers of cyclopean architecture, of an unknown date, (p. 262). The two domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are seen over the wall.

7. CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE FROM NORTH OF MOUNT ZION.

This is looking north, from the terrace of her Britannic Majesty's consul, situated on the steep brow of Mount Zion. The ruins of the extensive Hospital of the Knights of St John (p. 431) occupy the open space before the front of the Holy Sepulchre, whose features may be recognized by the two domes and tower. To the right you look down upon the principal street in Jerusalem, usually known as "Christian Street," or "Patriarch Street," from which is the principal entrance to the court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

8. INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF ST JAMES.

This ancient tomb is situated in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, near the Pillar of Absalom, (p. 373), and is entirely excavated in the rock. On the opposite side of the valley is shewn the south-east angle of what is commonly called the Temple Enclosure, i. e. the wall of the present haram, or court of the Mosk of Omar. The cyclopean stones may possibly have belonged to an angle in the first wall of Josephus, and be of Jewish masonry, (p. 330).

9. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES,

The view is taken from the terrace of the house occupied by the author during his sojourn at Jerusalem, and afterwards tenanted by his Prussian Majesty's consul. It should be mentioned, that in this view only artistic liberties have been taken with the foreground, but the representation of Mount Olivet is very faithful. Its three summits, the centre of which was occupied by the Church of the Ascension, (p. 365), now by a mosk and small village, may be clearly distinguished.

10. TOWER OF DAVID AND RESIDENCE OF THE ANGLICAN BISHOP, &c.

The artist is standing immediately within the Jaffa Gate, (p. 430), with the Hippic Tower, now the Castle of David, on his right. To the left is the house occupied by Bishop Alexander, (1843). Through the opening, formed by the street which leads down to the Bazaars and the Mosk of Omar (p. 268), is seen the summit of the Mount of Olives.

11. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF JERUSALEM.

This view is supposed to be taken from a point in the air directly above the Hill of Evil Council, to the south of the city. By comparing it with the Map of Jerusalem, and the different views, it will not be difficult to identify each particular object and feature.

ERRATA.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
5	note 4,	<i>dele</i> "not."	
8	15	mainly	vainly.
11	note 5,	שֶׁמֶשׁ	שֶׁמֶשׁ.
		and شمس	شمس .
97	26	Prophyry	Porphyry.
125	note 1 and 2,	Valerius	Valesius.
158	16	county	country.
266	10	rubbrish	rubbish.
275	note 7,	Eyout	Eyoub.



Pillar of Absalom.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE early history of that city which was destined to occupy so conspicuous a place in the annals of the world, is so involved in obscurity, owing to the remote antiquity to which it belongs, that not only is nothing certain known of its origin, but writers are not agreed as to where it is first mentioned in Holy Scripture. The testimony of Josephus, representing as is probable the tradition of the Jewish church, has not been enough to satisfy either ancients or moderns that the Salem of Melchizedek is identical with the Jerusalem of which David was the second founder; but as this opinion rests on very high authority¹, and has nothing in

¹ Lightfoot* quotes the Rabbies for this tradition (Chorograph. Cent. cap. xxi.). St Jerome speaks of "Josephus et nostri omnes," of whom he mentions

it inconsistent with the sacred narrative, we may be allowed to adopt a theory which will give additional interest to the Holy City, by identifying the scene of the offering of the king of Salem with that of the sacramental institution of the Prince of Peace which was therein typified.

The Jewish historian without any hesitation ascribes its foundation to Melchizedek, who, he says, "was there the first priest of God, and first built a temple there¹;" and if this mysterious personage were identical with Shem, the son of Noah, as ancient tradition with singular consistency has delivered², then may the Holy City boast an antiquity greater than any city in the world, and a founder every way worthy of its future celebrity.

But whatever uncertainty may attach to these questions, there can be little doubt that the spot selected by God for the offering up of Isaac "in the land of Moriah," was one

Hippolytus, Irenæus, Eusebius of Cæsarea and Emesa, Apollinarius, and Eustathius, as favouring this opinion, which he, however, did not adopt. He places the Salem of Melchizedek near Scythopolis, and identifies it with that in Gen. xxxiii. 18 (the same probably as in John iii. 23), where he says that extensive ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were shewn in his day, Epist. Crit. Vol. II. pp. 571, 573, B. Ed. This father was mostly followed by the writers of the middle ages. Of modern writers, Wells, Bossuet, Hales, Gesenius, Raumer, and others, follow Josephus; the learned Reland, and, after him, Rosenmüller, Bleek, and others, follow St Jerome. A living French author flatters himself that he has set the question at rest for ever, in two words. He takes for granted that the

Salem of Melchizedek was the "city of Shechem," Gen. xxxiii. 18; and then shews that this must have been north of Jerusalem, which, however, he allows was also originally called Salem. *Histoire de Jerusalem*, par M. Poujoulat, Vol. I. p. 53.

¹ Jewish War, B. VI. cap. x. comp. Antiquities I. x. 2.

² Lightfoot says that "all acknowledge Melchizedek for Shem." Chorograph. Decad. cap. x. sect. I. He adduces the Chaldeans, Jews, and many Christians (Miscell. xxviii.), and computes that Shem lived 75 years after Abraham came into Canaan. (Chron. in Gen. xv.) St Jerome mentions this tradition, and shews from the Bible chronology that Shem outlived Abraham 35 years, (Epist. Crit. Vol. II. p. 573. B. Ed.)

of the hills of Jerusalem, where, in this type, designed not only for the trial of his faith, but for the confirmation of his hope, transacted amid the scenes thereafter to be consecrated by the expiatory sacrifice of the Son of God, the patriarch Abraham in an especial manner “rejoiced to see the day of Christ, and he saw it, and was glad³.”

It is interesting, whatever be the value of the tradition, to find a record of these events still existing in Jerusalem; to be shewn the tomb of Melchizedek, the place where Abraham offered up Isaac, and the tree which occupies the spot where the ram was caught in a thicket by its horns: it serves at least to bring these transactions most vividly before the mind, and to give a vitality to the Sacred History, which will incline those who profit by it more readily to pardon the credulity of the Greeks, in whose chapel of the Forerunner the venerable tomb is preserved, as is the place of sacrifice in the monastery of Abraham, on the hill of Calvary; or the superstition of the Copts, who regard with veneration a tree, associated in their minds with an event of Scripture interest, which they reckon among the few treasures of their convent.

We have no further mention of Jerusalem until after an interval of more than five centuries, when, the iniquity of the Amorites being full, and the time appointed for the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham having arrived⁴, the Israelites, under the command of Joshua, entered upon the possession of their inheritance⁵.

³ Genesis xxii. ; John viii. 56 : comp. Hebrews xi. 19 ; and see Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Lib. vi. sect. v. Works, Vol. III. p. 383, &c. Ed. 1788.

⁴ Genesis xv. 13, 16.

⁵ Joshua x. This is the first passage in which the name of Jerusalem

occurs in the Sacred narrative, and even here it seems to be used by anticipation while the city retained its ancient name of Jebus, (see Joshua xv. 8 ; xviii. 28 ; and Judges xix. 10). Josephus informs us that Melchizedek first called it Jerusalem (*J. W.* vi. v. 1) ; but his account of the origin of this name

The name of the king of Jerusalem at this time, compared with that of its former king in the time of Abraham, would seem to intimate that this city had already a religious character among the Canaanites which entitled its ruler to the honourable appellation of the "Righteous King," or the "Righteous Lord¹." It would appear, too, that Adonizedec was in a position to exercise some kind of authority over the petty princes of the neighbouring cities, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, who obeyed his summons "to come up to him and help him, that they might smite

is very obscure, (Ant. vii. iii. 2, a passage which has much perplexed the learned). St Jerome and others understood him to make it a compound of the Greek *ἱερὸν*, and the Hebrew *שלם*, but Isaac Vossius defends him from this imputation. Lightfoot, after the Rabbies, derives it from the latter part of the name "Jehovah-jireh," (see Genesis xxii. 8, 14), and Shalem or *Salem*, (Genesis xiv. 18), by which name it is certainly called in Psalm lxxvi. 2, thus *ירושלם=שלם+יראה*, and he gives a curious reason for this compound, which need not be repeated, (Cent. Chorog. Matt. Præmissa, cap. xxi.). Whiston, who adopts this derivation, supposes the place to have been so called prophetically, after Abraham had received that oracle "Jehovah-jireh." "Since that expression, 'God will see,' or rather, 'God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering,' is said to have been proverbial till the days of Moses," he thinks it probable that the word may denote "that God would provide peace, by that Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world." Note on Josephus, Ant. vii. iii. 2. It is not unlikely that,

after the event referred to, the two patriarchs Melchizedek and Abraham would adopt this name with its prophetic signification, which was lost among the ungodly Canaanites, but retained and restored by the posterity of the patriarch. Reland adopts *ירושלם* "*hereditas, or possessio hereditaria pacis*," (accounting for the loss of the *ש* by assimilation) which gives a very good meaning, but wants the authority of the former. He is followed by Raumer, *Palestina*, p. 333. The least satisfactory is that of Dr Wells, who supposes it to be composed of its two ancient names *Jebus* and *Salem*—the *ב* being changed into *ר* euphoni gratiâ (Geog. of O. T. Pt. III. cap. ii.) or, as Professor Lee, who adopts the same theory, imagines, on account of the unsuitableness of the name, *ירושלם* ("which would signify the *trampling or treading down of peace*") to the city which God himself had chosen for his own. Lexicon, sub voce.

¹ The union of the kingly and priestly offices in one person would be no unusual thing in those times.

Gibeon, because it had made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel."

The site of Gibeon is still marked by the modern village of Geeb, distant about an hour from Jerusalem on the road to Jaffa, by Bethoron and Lydda; and the plain "before" it (*i. e.* to the east of it) is well adapted for the encampment of a large army. It was here that Joshua gained that decisive victory over the combined army, when the day was lengthened to complete it—so that "the sun stood still in the midst of the heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." The king of Jerusalem with his four allies was taken and put to death; but we do not read that his city, like theirs, fell into the hands of the conquerors at this time: indeed, it is difficult to determine the period of its capture by the Israelites, or to which tribe it was allotted in the division of the land²; since we read in one passage, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out, but the Jebusites dwell *with the children of Judah* at Jerusalem unto this day³;" while the same is elsewhere said of the *children of Benjamin*, in the same chapter in which we find that "*the children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem and taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire*⁴." The most satisfactory explanation of these apparent discrepancies is, that this city, being situated in the borders of the two tribes, was considered common to both; and that during the long contest with the people of the land it experienced various fortunes, according to the strength of the contending parties: for while it would appear certain

² Joshua xviii. 28, compared with xv. 8, would, without doubt, place it within the tribe of Benjamin; but other passages as clearly assign it to Judah. See *e. g.* Psalm lxxviii. 68.

³ Joshua xv. 63.

⁴ Judges i. 21–8. The language of Josephus, note ³ in the next page, will not enable us to reconcile the passages here referred to.

at least that soon after the death of Joshua it was in possession of the Israelites, it is no less clear that before the time of the Judges it was so completely in the power of Jebusites, as to have passed among the Israelites for "the city of a stranger," which would scarcely have afforded a secure shelter to one of their nation¹. It was reserved for David to bring it under complete subjection.

No sooner had he come into the undisputed sovereignty of the whole land, by the violent death of Ishbosheth the son of Saul, than he went to Jerusalem, and took the "castle" or "strong hold of Zion" out of the hands of the Jebusites². It would appear that this fortress, which came now to be called "the City of David," was distinct from what we had before read of as Jebus, the latter being identical with that which Josephus designates as Acra, or the lower city, the former with that which he invariably speaks of as the upper market, of which the Jebusites had held undisputed possession until this time³. It occupied a very strong natural position, aided, no doubt, by artificial defences, and the garrison were so confident in its strength, that they contemptuously exposed the blind and the lame on their walls, as if such defenders would suffice to repel the attacks of the assailants⁴. This taunt served but to exasperate the besiegers, and the reward of the first command, offered by David to him who should first cross the natural fosse which surrounded the hill⁵

¹ Judges i. 7 ; xix. 10—12.

² 2 Sam. v. 6, &c. and 1 Chron. xi. 4—8.

³ Josephus says of the Israelites after the death of Joshua, "They besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great dif-

ficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place." Ant. Lib. v. ii. 2. He draws the same distinction between the lower city and the castle in VII. iii. 1.

⁴ So Josephus explains 2 Sam. v. 6. See Antiquities, VII. iii. 1.

⁵ τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων Φαράγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι κ. λ. Ibid.

and smite the Jebusites, called forth all the energies of the captains, so that the position was speedily carried and secured. David now took up his abode in the castle, and enlarged the city to a size worthy of the dignity of a royal city, and the seat of government. To effect this he united the fortress of Zion to the city of Jebus, by taking in the valley which had formerly divided them, and surrounding the whole with a wall⁶. The incorporated city would thus consist of two hills, and an intermediate valley, which continued to be called "the suburbs," as originally distinct from either part of the city.

No sooner was David thus settled in his new capital, than he proposed to bring up the ark of God to Jerusalem, that it might thus become the religious as well as the civil head of his kingdom⁷.

Ever since the time of the entrance of the children of Israel under Joshua, the ark had been without any fixed resting-place. It was parted from the tabernacle of the congregation soon after their miraculous passage of the Jordan, the latter abiding in the camp at Gilgal, while the former went before the army to their battles⁸. When the land was settled, the tabernacle was removed to Shiloh⁹, in the tribe of Ephraim, and the ark was deposited in it, and remained there until the time of Eli the priest, except that it was occasionally carried to the national assemblies of the children of Israel, to add solemnity to their meetings¹⁰.

⁶ 1 Chron. xi. 8: "Δαυίδης δὲ τήντε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἐν σῶμα καὶ περιτειχίσας, κ. λ. Ant. vii. 3, 2. Many important questions relating to the topography of ancient Jerusalem are reserved for discussion in a subsequent chapter; but it is important to

remark how consistently, throughout his history, from the earliest period, Josephus distinguishes between the Upper and Lower City.

⁷ 2 Sam. vi. 1, &c.

⁸ Joshua ix. 6, 15; x. 43; vi. 12; viii. 43. ⁹ Ib. xviii. 1.

¹⁰ Ib. xxiv. 1, 25, 26.

The site of Shiloh is still preserved under the name of Siloon¹, a ruinous heap on a remarkable hill, about two miles to the east of the road between Jerusalem and Nablouse—eight hours from the former, and four from the latter, at the S.E. extremity of a valley known as “Wady Lebban.” There is now little left to mark the spot which was once the centre of the true worship of God: for the judgment on the house of Eli would seem to have extended to the very city where he dwelt; and God not only “forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,” but reduced the city itself to complete desolation, so that it became a proverb in Israel².

The circumstances attending the removal of the ark from that place were indeed most disastrous³. Instead of redeeming the fortunes of the rebellious Israelites in their contest with the Philistines, as they mainly hoped and their adversaries feared, it fell into their enemies’ hands, and remained seven months in their possession—a troublesome trophy indeed, dealing destruction and misery among their people, their princes and their gods, so that they were glad to be quit of its awful presence. By the advice of their priests and diviners it was placed on a new cart with a trespass-offering, and committed to the direction of two milch-kine, who were guided, contrary to natural instinct, to the priestly city of Beth-shemesh, where the presumption of those who assembled to welcome its return occasioned the death of more than fifty thousand men⁴. Awed by this

¹ See a full description in Dr Robinson’s *Bib. Researches* under June 14, 1838, Vol. III. p. 86. Its position is exactly given in Judges xxi. 19. The nearest point to it on the high road is Khan Lebban, which takes its name, as does the valley, from a village so called, situated on the west side of the

valley. This is most probably the Lebonah mentioned in Judges.

² Psal. lxxviii. 60, 67; Jer. vii. 12, 14, and xxvi. 6, 9.

³ 1 Sam. iv. 3, &c.

⁴ 1 Sam. vi. 19. Josephus states the number at 70; but as the Hebrew and Septuagint agree in the much

event, the Beth-shemites besought the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim to relieve them of the guardianship, and it was accordingly transferred to that city, and deposited in the house of Abinadab⁵, under the custody of his son Eleazar, where it remained, with occasional interruptions, for the period of twenty years⁶.

The language of the sacred narrative would lead us to conclude that this border-city of Judah, originally called Baalah⁷, was not far distant from Beth-shemesh; but as all traces of its name have perished, it is difficult to fix its precise situation with certainty.

A modern traveller⁸ has conjectured that the village of Kuryet-el-'Anub⁹, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem,

larger number given in the text, we cannot be warranted in rejecting it on this authority; yet it is only on the supposition of an unusual concourse that the number can be at all accounted for. A number equal to the population of a large city was slain, to say nothing of those who escaped: it was about the time of the feast of tabernacles, ver. 13.

⁵ A Levite, according to Josephus. Ant. vi. 1.

⁶ 1 Sam. vii. 2. Once in this interval it was with Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin, xiv. 18.

⁷ Josh. xv. 9; 1 Chron. xiii. 6, &c.

⁸ Dr Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vol. II. pp. 334, 335.

⁹ Commonly known as the village of Abu-ghoosh, about two hours from Jerusalem. There can be little doubt that this village represents the Emmaus of St Luke, according to an ancient tradition of the Greek Church. It is exactly the distance required—

viz. 60 stadia. Luke xxiv. 13. St Jerome most unaccountably identifies the Emmaus of St Luke with the city of that name afterwards called Nicopolis, and now 'Amwas, distant 176 stadia from Jerusalem, (according to the Jerusalem Itinerary), a little to the right of the road to Jaffa. See St Jerome, Epist. lxxxvi. ad Eustochium Virginem. Vol. IV. part ii. p. 673. Ed. Bened. Reland with his usual acumen solves the difficulty. Palestina, Lib. II. cap. vi. p. 427, &c., and Lib. III. p. 758. The old Christian church now in ruins at Kuryet-el-'Anub, would appear, from the paintings still to be traced on the walls, to have belonged to the Greeks, not to the Latins, as Dr Robinson says, Bibl. Res. Vol. II. p. 336. The Latin church and monastery mentioned by Quaresmius occupied a hill on the opposite side of the road, where extensive ruins are still shewn among the olive plantations. It was

occupies this ancient site; but there are several weighty objections to this hypothesis, besides those which he has noticed and attempted to remove.

In the description of the borders of Benjamin, the *western* line is drawn from a hill south of the lower Bethoron to Kirjath-jearim, whence the *south* border is drawn by the waters of the well Nephtoah to the valley of Hinnom, and so following¹: thus placing Kirjath-jearim in the south-west corner of Benjamin.

The site of the lower Bethoron is preserved by the modern village of the same name, and the fountain of Nephtoah is conjectured by the author in question to be the present Ain Yalo in Wady-el-Werd: or, as this fountain appears to lie too far south to continue the line determined by the valley of Hinnom, it might perhaps with more propriety be assigned to Ain Karim, which however is not far distant to the north of Ain Yalo. Now if the village of Kuryet-el-'Anub does represent Kirjath-jearim, it would be about *the middle of the western border* of Benjamin², not in the *southern extremity of it*, as the scripture narrative intimates. But there is an insuperable objection, based on the language of holy scripture, to that position which all the later maps, on the authority of this writer, assume for this city. Mahaneh Dan is said to be "in" or "behind" Kirjath-jearim³. But Mahaneh Dan was "between Zorah

at this Emmaus, and not at Nicopolis, that the Roman colony of 800 soldiers was planted by Vespasian. Jewish War, vii. vi. 6. The modern village of Kul'onieh, between this and Jerusalem, may retain in its name a memorial of this event. This might have been the Roman capital. Josephus merely says that the *district* of Em-

maus was allotted to them.

¹ Josh. xviii. 14, 15. Compare xv. 8—10.

² A line drawn from Bethoron the nether to Ain Yalo, would pass through Kuryet-el-'Anub, which is equally distant from both points. See Dr Robinson's map.

³ Judg. xviii. 12.

and Eshtaol⁴, two cities of that part of Judah which was afterwards allotted to Dan, and which are elsewhere associated with Beth-shemesh, in a manner which appears to intimate a proximity to it⁵. Now two of these sites are still preserved in the modern villages of Surâh and Ain Shems⁶, while Eshtaol must have been not far distant, somewhat to the south of Beth-shemesh, as Beth-shemesh was south of Zorah⁷. But if such was the relative position of Zorah and Eshtaol, it could not with any propriety be said that Kirjath-jearim was *between* them, if Kuryet-el-'Anub be the true site: for these considerations will necessarily determine its position near Beth-shemesh, as scripture intimates, and Josephus expressly affirms⁸, somewhere to the south-east of Surâh; south, that it may be in some way "between Zorah and Eshtaol," and east, that it may be without the boundaries of the tribe of Dan. Now there is an ancient site exactly in this locality occupied by the modern village of Deir-el-Howa, on a remarkable hill above Ain Shems, where the mountain-region begins to descend towards the

⁴ Judg. xiii. 25.

⁵ Josh. xix. 41, called here עִיר

בֵּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ no doubt identical with

בֵּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ, now عين شمس Ain Shems.

Reland, however, thinks otherwise. Palestina, p. 656. They are considered identical by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. III. p. 19. n. 6.

⁶ See Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 339, 343; Vol. III. 17, 18.

⁷ Eshtaol was in the plain. Josh. xv. 33. It is placed by Eusebius and St Jerome between Eleutheropolis and Nicopolis, ten miles from the former; and the same is said of Beth-shemesh and Zorah. Vid. Onomast. sub voc.

But that Eshtaol was most to the south may be inferred from what they write of Jarmuth, that it was *four miles* from Eleutheropolis, and *adjacent to Eshtaol*. Vid. Onomast. sub voc. The testimony of these writers to the position of Kirjath-jearim is very inconsistent. In one place they make it ten miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Diospolis—yet they say it was near Massepha, which they place "in finibus Eleutheropolis, ad septentrionem pergentibus Æliam." (Vid. Onomast. sub voc.) They also place Timnath (now Tibneh) on the road between Ælia and Diospolis.

⁸ Ant. vi. i. 4.

plain. The situation is such as would be well suited for a large city, and the traces of ancient masonry in the modern hovels attest the existence of extensive buildings in former times. Several coincident circumstances unite to identify this site with that of Kirjath-jearim¹.

From this point a distinct line of hills runs up to the lower Bethoron, presenting a natural boundary for Benjamin on the west; while the southern line would be marked by the deep valley of Ismâil, which, commencing below Deir-el-Howa, is continued under another name to Ain Karim (the waters of Nephtoah), from whence it would pass nearly along the road which joins that village to Jerusalem, and across the high rocky ground between the city and the Convent of the Cross, to the head of the valley of Hinnom².

About half way between Deir-el-Howa and Ain Karim, on the north side of the valley near the village Satâf, is a Wely called by the natives Khirbet-el-Uz, a name which suggests the possibility of the identity of this site with Perez Uzzah, the place where David's first attempt to bring up the ark from Kirjath-jearim was defeated³, and where it remained for three months in the house of Obed-Edom; at the end of which period it was brought to Jerusalem, and deposited in the tabernacle prepared for it on Mount Zion.

This tabernacle however was not its proper resting-place. The tabernacle of the congregation and the altar of burnt-

¹ Among other old sites pointed out to me from Deir-el-Howa by a native of the place, *unprompted*, was Beit Mahanem, bearing N.N.E. on the hill situated on the opposite side of Wady Ismâil. Might not this be a relic of the name Mahaneh Dan?

² Josh. xviii. 15. Compare xv. 8,

9. . . . "the border *went up to the top of the mountain* that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward, and the border was drawn *from the top of the hill* unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah."

³ 2 Sam. vi.

offering were now at Gibeon⁴. It had been removed to Nob after the loss of the ark in the battle of Aphek, probably by Divine direction, and on the destruction of that city⁵ had been transferred to Gibeon, and David had no warrant to remove it to Jerusalem. Although therefore we find him sacrificing before the ark when he brought it up, this was, so to speak, a special service for an extraordinary occasion, and did not supersede the established custom; and while he provided a ministry of Levites for continual attendance upon the ark at Jerusalem, he appointed a service of priests by course for the tabernacle at Gibeon, and for the perpetual burnt-offering⁶; and here it was that Solomon offered up his sacrifice at his inauguration, and was favoured with divine revelations⁷. The tent on Mount Zion was designed only for a temporary arrangement by David himself, who had it in his heart to erect a more durable monument of his zeal for the service of God, thinking it a shame that he should dwell in a house of cedar, while the ark of God dwelt within curtains⁸. This purpose met with the divine approval; and although he was not permitted to carry his design into execution, yet with the faith of a prophet, and the munificence of a king, he devoted himself during the remainder of his days to provide materials for the building, which he knew that he should not be permitted to behold. His preparations were conducted on a scale of liberality worthy of a house which was to be "exceeding magnificent, of fame and of glory throughout all countries." And in the spirit he saw it all, for the pattern of the whole building and of all the courts was his, "by the hand of God upon him⁹:"

⁴ 1 Chron. xxi. 29.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxii. 19.

⁶ 1 Chron. xvi. 1, 37—40.

⁷ 2 Chron. i. 3—6, &c. Comp.

1 Chron. xxi. 29.

⁸ 1 Chron. xvii. 1, &c.

⁹ 1 Chron. xxviii. 19.

and the distributions of the Levites in their offices, the orders of the sons of Aaron in their courses, the divisions of the singers, and of the porters, and the very allotment of the gates to each, was his care; and the site was assigned by him¹.

The traveller in Palestine in the time of harvest will witness in the immediate vicinity of every town or village a busy scene of no small interest as a scripture-illustration. It is the threshing out of the grain which has just been brought in from the fields. The process is as follows: a space of ground is chosen of sufficient size for the purpose, and mostly in a quarter exposed to the wind; the rock, which is generally near the surface, is cleared of the super-incumbent soil or sand, levelled where necessary, and thus prepared for the treading of the cattle who are then turned in to trample over the sheaves until the straw is reduced to chaff, and the grain completely separated from the husks. Sometimes, but rarely, a "threshing instrument having teeth," and drawn by the hand or by oxen, is used in addition. The corn is then tossed into the air with shovels, and winnowed with the wind, which carries away the lighter particles, the grain only falling back to the threshing-floor by its own weight².

The customs of the orientals in agriculture are not subject to change, and as are their threshing-floors at this day, such we may conclude them to have been in the days of David. And such would be the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, which was selected by divine appointment for the erection of the temple, having been signalized before

¹ 1 Chron. xxii.; 2 Chron. viii. 14.

² Isaiah xli. 15. There are constant allusions to this process in holy scripture, e. g. to the *threshing* in Isaiah

vii. 25; xli. 15; to the *winnowing*, Job xxi. 18; Psal. i. 4, xxxv. 5; Isaiah xxx. 24; Daniel ii. 35; Hosea xiii. 3.

by an act of mercy, as the spot where the hand of the destroying angel who smote Jerusalem was stayed³.

This site has the singular good fortune to be the only one of all the sacred localities in Jerusalem whose identity has not been disputed in modern times. It is universally agreed that the hill now occupied by the mosque of Omar and its surrounding courts, is "the Mountain of the Lord's house," though the ingenuity of travellers has been exercised in attempts to lay out the ground, and determine the exact position of the temple. The site is described by Josephus as a strong hill, the level summit of which was at first hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar; but Solomon first, and then succeeding monarchs, raised banks of enormous stones from the deep valleys beneath, so as to form a larger plain⁴. And its present aspect very well agrees with this account; the courts of the mosque present the appearance of artificial platforms raised one above another; the rock being cut into form, and its defects supplied by solid masonry. Nor is it improbable that the large stones at the exterior of the eastern wall of the inclosure above the valley of Jehoshaphat, noticed by all travellers, form part of one of those stupendous foundations mentioned with so much admiration by the Jewish historian.

Here then the temple designed and planned by David, under the immediate inspiration of God, silently developed its fair proportions, rising from the rock, as by an enchanter's wand, without the sound of axes or hammers⁵; constructed with such materials as the wealthiest of kings could provide, and furnished with such ornaments as the highest wisdom, aided by the most excellent skill of the best artificers, could devise and execute.

³ 1 Chron. xxi. 15; 2 Chron. iii. 1. | ⁴ Jew. War, V. v. 1. ⁵ 1 Kings vi. 7.

The matrimonial alliance which Solomon had formed with the king of Egypt¹, the mother or nurse of human sciences, and the friendly understanding which had subsisted, even during his father's reign, with Hiram of Tyre²,—then and for many ages the great mart for the commerce of the western world³,—secured to him all the aid which the arts could supply in the construction of the temple. The latter, in particular, not only provided for the work timber of cedar and fir from the forests of Lebanon⁴, but all the ornamental furniture for the exterior and internal decoration was prepared under the superintendence of his artificers; and the skill of the Tyrians was so well seconded by the labourers of Solomon, raised by levies from among all the tribes, that at the end of seven years this temple of unrivalled magnificence⁵ was completed and dedicated to the worship of the God of Israel, under circumstances of awful solemnity, amidst evident tokens of the Divine presence⁶; and here the ark and the tabernacle once more met together⁷, never again to be separated until the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

The almost incredible quantity of gold employed in this structure was furnished by the commerce which had been

¹ 1 Kings iii. 1. One of the last kings of the 21st dynasty, named Osochor. *Histoire de Jerusalem*, par M. Poujoulat, i. 135.

² 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 1.

³ See Isaiah xxiii.; Ezek. xxvii. xxviii.

⁴ 1 Kings v.; 2 Chron. ii.

⁵ Justinian's exclamation of "devout vanity," as the infidel calls it, must be taken with some qualification: "Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work. I have vanquished thee, O Solo-

mon," said that emperor, on contemplating the church of St Sophia, at Constantinople, the estimated expense of which is about a million sterling; while the temple of Solomon, though equalling in size only a small parish-church (according to Dean Prideaux's estimate. *Connexion*, Vol. i. p. 144, folio), might be valued at four or five millions sterling. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

⁶ 1 Kings viii.

⁷ 1 Kings viii. 4, &c.; 2 Chron. iii. 2, 5.

lately opened through the Red Sea, which deserves particular notice. The conquest of Edom by David⁸ having put him into possession of the two naval stations, Ezion-Geber and Elath⁹, he had commenced the trade¹⁰, which was much enlarged by his son and successor¹¹, who himself visited these ports¹², and established, by the aid of his Tyrian ally, a regular communication with the gold country of Ophir, and with the celebrated mart of Tarshish¹³.

The former of these has been lately satisfactorily proved by a learned writer¹⁴ to be situated in the south eastern parts of the great peninsula of Arabia, upon the shores of the Indian ocean, near the entrance into the Persian gulf, still bearing the name of Ofer; but there is less certainty with regard to the latter¹⁵, while the difficulties attending its position are augmented by the fact of "ships of Tarshish" being found in the ports both of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. This difficulty might be removed by adopting the theory of this being a general name for merchant-

⁸ 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16.

⁹ First mentioned by Moses, Numb. xxxii. 35, 36; Deut. ii. 8. The modern town of Akaba represents the ancient Elath; all traces of Ezion-geber have perished. See Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vol. i. p. 250, &c.

¹⁰ Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. ix. See 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

¹¹ 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.; x. 11, 12. This commerce was afterwards renewed by Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings xxii. 49, interrupted by the successful rebellion of the Edomites, under Jehoram, 2 Kings viii. 20, 22; re-opened by Uzziah's conquest, xiv. 22; finally brought to an end by Rezin, king of Syria, in the time of Ahaz, xvi. 6.

¹² 2 Chron. viii. 17.

¹³ 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.; x. 22.

¹⁴ Rev. Chas. Forster, in his Historical Geography of Arabia, Vol. i. p. 165. It is called *Ofor* in D'Anville's Map, and lies in the territory of Omán, the gold-coast of Pliny, or his "*littus Hammæum ubi auri metalla.*"

¹⁵ Josephus and St Jerome place Tarsus in India, as do many modern writers; but Dr Wells is positive against this (Pt. i. cap. iii. sect. 2, 33), and adopts the theory mentioned in the text to account for Jehoshaphat's ships of Tarshish being broken at Ezion-geber, 1 Kings xxii. 43; but he had lost sight of the passage referred to in the next note.

vessels of a certain class, which need not necessarily imply the destination of the vessels, were it not plain, from scripture, that the ships of Tarshish, constructed at Ezion-geber, did actually carry on trade with that place¹, as did also those in the ports of Phœnicia². Or again, we might resort to the usual hypothesis of another Tarshish to the south or east of the Red Sea, but that there is nothing in antiquity to warrant such a supposition. The native city of St Paul, in Cilicia, which was founded at a very early period³, may have sent out to the pillars of Hercules, even prior to the time of Solomon, that colony, which afterwards attained considerable celebrity⁴. But we have no clear mention in any ancient author of any such port on the eastern coast of Africa, or in the Indies. In this uncertainty and perplexity, it may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, which may perhaps gain credibility from several remarkable coincidences between the scripture narrative, of Solomon's naval expedition, and the account given by Herodotus, of the circumnavigation of Africa by Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, who was, as far as he knew, the first to discover the passage⁵.

Three years—the exact period consumed by the Egyptian expedition in their voyage round Africa—was the usual time occupied by the voyage from Ezion-geber to Tarshish and back⁶, which would appear too long for any port to the south or east of the Red Sea; whereas if the sailors of Solomon

¹ 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.

² Jonah i. 3. This was probably Tarsus in Cilicia. But Tartessus, in Spain, must be referred to, in Ezek. xxvii. 12, as furnishing to the fairs of Tyre, "silver, iron, tin, and lead."

³ Josephus says that this city, and the country about it, was so called from Tarshish, the grandson of Japheth. (Gen. x. 4.) See Wells, Geo. of the

O. T. Pt. i. cap. iii. sect. 2, 20, and Lightfoot, Miscel. cap. v. Tarsus still retains its ancient name, and something of its celebrity among the Syrians. It is now a great emporium for Turkey carpets and rugs.

⁴ Wells, G. O. T. Pt. i. cap. iii. 11, 32.

⁵ See the account, Lib. iv. cap. 42.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 22.

were engaged in the same undertaking with those of Necho some centuries later, and were, like them, in the habit of sowing and reaping during the voyage,—a practice which might be common to the Phœnician sailors, who conducted both expeditions—the length of time would easily be accounted for, since the vessels which had set sail from the Red Sea, having passed round the African continent, would then enter the Mediterranean, and accomplish their voyage in the period above specified, either at Joppa, or the harbour of the Phœnician capital, where they would discharge their cargoes⁷, freighted on the coast of Africa, and at Tartessus, in Spain, the common emporium for the commerce of the contiguous continents.

King Solomon does not appear to have extended his dominions far beyond the limits assigned them by his father, whose conquests had secured to him the peaceable possession of a kingdom, larger than was ever afterwards embraced by the divided powers of Judah and Israel. Indeed, it is to this reign that we must look for the widest literal fulfilment, which the promises made to Abraham and his seed have hitherto met with; and even were we not to look for a future accomplishment of these prophecies relating to the glory and greatness of the Israelitish kingdom, the strictness of scripture language would be fully satisfied by the extent of the dominions of the son of David.

The question of the restoration of the Jews, and a future literal verification of such predictions, is not, of course, affected by this fact: however that may be decided from other passages of holy scripture, it is not surely reverent or safe to suspend the truth of God upon a question of topography, or to argue, that because the territorial limits of the Jewish

⁷ Consisting of “gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks.”
1 Kings x. 22.

kingdom have never hitherto reached the limits assigned them by promise, therefore the Jews must be hereafter restored to a wider inheritance than that which their sins have forfeited¹: for not now to insist on the condition of obedience expressed or implied in every such promise², or on the acknowledged difficulty of ascertaining precisely the boundaries of the promised and possessed land, as described in holy scripture; the dominions of Solomon do appear, in fact, to have embraced all that was ever promised to the children of Abraham, and their limits are described almost in the language of the prophecies, as if to call attention to the fact of their literal accomplishment. Did the covenant made with Abraham declare, “Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates?” It is remarked of Solomon, that “he reigned over all kingdoms, from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the borders of Egypt.” Was the wilderness of Zin on the south, and the entrance of Hamath on the north, affixed as the limits of the land of promise? We read that Joshua subjugated the whole country within these limits, and that David and his son reigned over the whole land, “from the entering in of Hamath, to the river of Egypt³.”

The eastern and western landmarks, determined by the river Euphrates on the one side, and the Mediterranean on

¹ Such seems to be the argument of Dr Keith, in his work, entitled, “The Land of Israel.”

² Πῶς ἐπαγγεῖλάμενος ὁ Θεὸς μέχρι τοῦ Ἐυφράτου ποταμοῦ παραδώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν; asks Theodoret. His reply is: Διὰ Ἱεριμία τοῦ προφήτου τοῦτο σαφέστερον πεποίηκε ὁ Θεός. Πέρασ γάρ φησι λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλείαν, τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ κα-

ταφεντεύειν, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν στραφὲν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκείνο ποιήσῃ πονηρὰ, οὐμὴ ἐπιγάγῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἔδωκεν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Jerem. xviii. 9. Theod. Quæst. 59 in Exodum. See again, Quæst. 1 in Joshuam, and Quæst. 6 in Lib. Judicum.

³ Gen. xv. 18; 1 Kings iv. 21, 24; Numb. xxxiv. 3, 8; Joshua xii. 7; xiii. 3, 5; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 1 Kings viii. 65.

the other, are not likely to be obliterated; but with regard to the northern and southern boundaries, there is considerable difficulty; which the observations of modern travellers have served rather to augment than to diminish, until the recent recovery of an important site, frequently mentioned in the southern border, has furnished data whereby to determine the limits of the promised land in that direction, while the question relating to the northern boundary is perhaps capable of being decided by data which we already possess⁴.

That the *possessions* of the Israelites were never co-extensive with these limits is undoubtedly true, the southern coast being occupied by the Amalekites, the western by the Philistines, the northern and eastern by the Syrians, and various Arab families; but while this may be ascribed in part to their own neglect, and in part to the divine judgment consequent upon it⁵, it admits of a question, whether it was intended that they should *inhabit* the whole of this extensive territory, or whether rather a distinction is not to be drawn between the country given for *possession*, and that granted for *dominion*⁶. It would even appear, from some passages, that the land of their possession was to have been confined between the Jordan and the Red Sea⁷, while it is certain, that in the reign of Solomon, all the nations within the widest

⁴ In order not to interrupt the thread of the narrative, I have reserved for an Appendix the very interesting particulars of the discovery of Kadesh, by my friend, a fellow-traveller, the Rev. John Rowlands, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge.

⁵ See Judges, i. ii.

⁶ In Genesis xii. 7, and xiii. 14, 17. The land of Canaan (whose limits are described in x. 19) is promised to Abraham; but in xv. 18, &c., Dr Wells supposes, that "God not only repeated

his promise of giving the land of Canaan for an inheritance to the seed of Abraham, but withal further promised to give unto his seed the *dominion* of a much larger track." lviii. 44. He finds this distinction "nicely observed in the sacred writings themselves." e. g. Gen. xvii. 8, xlviii. 4; Levit. xiv. 34; Deut. xi. 24, 25; Numbers xxxiv. 1—5.

⁷ Numbers xxxii. 7, &c., xxxiii. 51, &c.; Deut. ix. 1, xi. 31, xii. 9, 10, &c.

borders were reduced to submission, so that "he had dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth, and they that dwell in the wilderness knelt before him, and his enemies licked the dust," as a type of that Son of David, to whom "the kings of Tarshish and of the isles should bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him¹."

Having finished the building of the temple in the eleventh year of his reign, Solomon next proceeded to the erection of a palace, and other buildings, suitable to his magnificence, for the accommodation of his queen, and for the administration of justice. He then brought the hill, now occupied by the temple, within the circuit of the city, which he further strengthened and adorned; and because the hill of Zion, on which the royal palace was situated, was separated from the Mountain of the House by a valley of considerable depth, he facilitated his approach to the latter by a causeway, the traces of which remain to this day,—a work of such magnitude as to excite the admiration of the queen of Sheba²; which will demand a fuller notice in another connexion.

¹ Psalm lxxii. 8—11. See 1 Kings iv. 21.

² 1 Kings x. 5. The various buildings of Solomon mentioned by the inspired historian are: "The house of the Lord"—"his own house"—"The house of the forest of Lebanon"—"the porch of pillars"—"the porch of judgment," and "an house for Pharaoh's daughter." 1 Kings vi. 1; viii. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8. The porches, however, were probably attached to his palace, and the house for Pharaoh's daughter would appear to have been part of the same. See 1 Kings iii. 1; compare ix. 24, and 2 Chron. viii. 11, where we learn

incidentally that by "the city of David," is meant the house of David, where the ark had been. Besides these works, it is said that "he built Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and repaired the breaches of the city of David." 1 Kings ix. 15—24; xi. 27. This *Millo* has much perplexed commentators. All agree in deriving it from מִלֵּא *to fill*, (whence מִלֵּא and מְלֵא *fulness*), but account for its name by various conjectures. It is first mentioned after the taking of the fortress, 2 Sam. v. 9, and Chron. xi. 8. The LXX. render it by ἀκρα in three

Thus then the city which had been in a manner founded by David, attained the zenith of its glory in the reign of his son, and its renown spread to the ends of the earth for the wisdom and wealth of its highly-gifted monarch³. Its decline must date from the death, or rather from the apostasy of Solomon; yet it was gradual, like the decay of all great empires, and from time to time displayed fresh vigour, as though it would vindicate to itself its former greatness; but the seeds of dissolution had taken firm root, and the consummation was slowly, but surely approaching.

It is singular, that the first recorded act of that king for whose instruction primarily the book of Proverbs was composed, that store-house of all wisdom, human and divine, should have exhibited indiscretion and folly almost without a parallel in the annals of the world. It is not to be supposed

places, (as Josephus seems to do in his version of this passage,) sometimes ἀνδραγαθία. Rabbi Kimchi, according to Buxtorf, imagines it a *large building* for public meetings; others, (as Jarchi and R. Jeshaiiah) following the Chaldee, which gives מִלְתָּא a mound, make it a mound of earth inside the wall; others, as R. Levi, a trench filled with water. Kennicott supposes it the same with the Castle of Zion or the fortress of the city of David, and quotes Lightfoot, who does not bear him out; for Lightfoot, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, makes it *part* (a complement or filling up) of the city, and identical with the suburbs, or the valley of the Tyropæon, that separated the upper from the lower city. I am disposed to think that four of these solutions may be more easily reconciled than would at first sight appear, (I except R. Levi

and Kennicott.) There was probably a *public building* called Millo, giving its name to, or deriving its name from, the *part of the city* where it stood; which was crossed by the mound, (ἀνδραγαθία) erected by Solomon for the purpose mentioned in the text. Beth-Millo, where Joash was slain, 2 Kings xii. 20, would be this house of assembly; which was “at the going down to Silla;” סֵלָא is taken to be equivalent to מַסְלָא (aggestum iter) a causeway. Now it is worthy to remark, that the north wall of Zion, which probably crossed Solomon’s causeway over the Tyropæon, was, according to Josephus, joined, as it approached the temple, to the council-chamber (βουλῆ), Jewish War, V. iv. 2, called otherwise βουλευτήριον. VI. vi. 3, a *large public building*, where the archives, &c. were kept.

³ 1 Kings iv. 29—34; x. 24.

that the magnificence of Solomon could be otherwise than burdensome to his subjects, and his levies and taxes must have produced much disaffection and dissatisfaction. The latter period of his own reign had not been free from indications of a disposition to revolt¹, which manifested itself openly immediately on the accession of Rehoboam², and was ripened at once to rebellion by his uncompromising reply to the petition of his people to lighten somewhat of their grievous yoke; a reply prompted by an infatuation which can only be accounted for by the declaration of the inspired historian, that “the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying, which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat.”

The immediate consequence of this act of folly was the defection of the ten tribes, breaking out in the murder of Adoram the collector of the tribute, who had been sent to levy the government dues for the king of Judah. Rehoboam's design of reducing the revoltors to obedience by the sword being abandoned in consequence of a divine prohibition, Jeroboam was permitted quietly to assume the government of the new kingdom, and forthwith took such measures as human policy dictated to secure its continuance. He had acuteness enough to perceive the connexion between loyalty and religion—between the fear of God and the honour of the king; and dreading lest Jerusalem should exercise a political, as well as a religious influence over his people, and draw them away from their allegiance, he devised the expedient of setting up a new church within his own dominions, to counteract as far as possible their pre-

¹ 1 Kings xi. 14, &c.

² *Ib.* xii. The political division between Israel and Judah, however it may have originated, seems to have

been already fully recognized, even in David's time. See 2 Sam. xix. 11, 40—43, and xxiv. 9.

dilections for the old capital. Ambition was the motive, but the convenience of his people was the plea: and the popularity of the measure was secured by the adoption of the favourite idols, and by admitting the lowest of the people to a participation in the priesthood, contrary to the exclusive rule of the Levitical law, which confined the office to the family of Aaron. These measures, persisted in as they were in contempt of the plainest denunciations of the divine displeasure³, could not but serve to disgust the better disposed classes of his subjects; and the priests and Levites, with many of the people, voluntarily abandoned their temporal possessions, to obtain part in the spiritual privileges of the temple-worship at Jerusalem⁴.

But the profession of the true religion did not secure its practice; and within three years the apostacy of Judah appears to have become general, and brought upon that kingdom an invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt, with a numerous army⁵. The timely repentance of the king and princes averted the extremity of the Divine wrath, but the fenced cities of Judah, and Jerusalem itself, were taken, and the temple was spoiled of its treasures. The substitution of brazen shields for the shields of gold which Solomon had dedicated, and which Shishak now carried away, represented but too faithfully the deterioration of national piety, and the consequent decline of the national prosperity. The king of Judah appears to have continued for some time in a state of vassalage to the Egyptian conqueror, but we have no intimation of the time or manner in which he released himself from his yoke. The remainder of his reign too clearly indicated the insincerity of his former repentance; and here we see the consequences of the father's sin perpetuated in

³ 1 Kings xiii.

⁵ 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii.

⁴ 2 Chron. xi. 13, 14, 16, 17, &c.

the son; for the record of his wickedness is connected with his descent from an Ammonitess mother, in a manner which seems clearly to intimate that her evil influence had corrupted his heart in his early youth¹.

After a reign of seventeen years he left the kingdom to his son Abijah, whose short reign was occupied in the successful prosecution of the war with Israel which had continued during the whole period that had elapsed since the division². His expostulation with the apostate Israelites, his profession of adherence to the true worship of God, and above all, the decisive victory vouchsafed to Judah on this occasion, "because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers³," would bespeak a favourable opinion for this king, but that we are informed that "he walked in the sins of his fathers, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God." But David's piety, which was still had in remembrance in the sight of God, proved the safeguard of his kingdom⁴, until it was revived in the person of Asa, the son and successor of Abijah.

This king immediately on his accession commenced a thorough reformation, in a spirit which allowed no compromise with natural affection or expediency. His own mother, who had encouraged idolatry by her example, was deposed from the station of influence which she had occupied, and her idol was destroyed and publicly burnt by the brook Kidron⁵. Peace and prosperity was the consequence of this reformation, and he availed himself of this opportunity of strengthening the defences of the land by the erection of walled cities. His victory over the mighty host of Zerah the Ethiopian, and the promise of the Divine favour, by the

¹ 2 Chron. xii. 13.

² 2 Kings xiv. 30.

³ 2 Chron. xiii.

⁴ 1 Kings xv. 4.

⁵ 1 Kings xv. 13.

mouth of the prophet Oded, encouraged him in the course which he had begun, and brought over to him a large accession of the subjects of the king of Israel⁶. But the solemn covenant by which they now bound themselves to the service of God, was not long observed; his signal deliverance from the Ethiopians was soon forgotten; and his trust in the king of Syria, on occasion of the invasion of Baasha, incurred the displeasure of God, and was the first act of a series of persecutions, oppressions, and distresses, which cast a dark shadow over the later period of a reign which had given such fair promise at its commencement.

Very different was it with his son and successor Jehoshaphat⁷, whose consistent course of rectitude is placed in so striking a contrast to the impiety and gross idolatry of a contemporaneous king of Israel, that a review of the two reigns would form an instructive exemplification of the progress of virtue and vice; the former tending more and more to glory and honour here, no less than to immortality hereafter, the latter sinking continually to a lower depth of debasement.

The reformation of Jehoshaphat proceeded further than that of his father, or of other succeeding kings; for he "took away the high places and groves⁸;" he appointed princes and Levites and priests to teach throughout the land, and to expound the law of the Lord, copies of which they carried with them; and he himself became a teacher and preacher of righteousness to the judges and the priests, to remind them of their responsibility, and of the sin of wresting judgment, and to encourage them in the discharge of their

⁶ 2 Chron. xv. 1, &c.

⁷ 2 Chron. xvii.—xx.

⁸ 2 Chron. xvii. 6. Yet in 1 Kings xxii. 43, and 2 Chron. xx. 33, we read

that "the high places were not taken away," &c. Perhaps this may refer to an earlier period of his reign.

important duties, the nature of which he so excellently declared to them. The complete system of organization under which the kingdom was brought during his reign, must much have facilitated the administration of its affairs, and proves that his religious zeal was not inconsistent with the due discharge of his functions as a civil magistrate. But he had the wisdom to see that his political improvements would be vain without the religious instruction of his people, so he made this his first care, and by so doing secured to himself the favour of God, the ready allegiance of his subjects, and the submission of all surrounding nations.

The Philistines and Arabians, those hereditary enemies of Judah, submitted themselves to him, and voluntarily offered tribute; and "the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against him." And if the invasion of his country by the combined armies of the Moabites and Ammonites, with the inhabitants of mount Seir, or the Edomites, interrupted for a short time the tranquillity of his reign, it was only to afford occasion for the exhibition of new virtues. Renouncing all confidence in his numerous and well disciplined army, and trusting simply in the protection of the Almighty, he sought to propitiate His favour by a solemn fast, and extraordinary religious services in the temple at Jerusalem. The preparation and conduct of the war gave it throughout a religious character, and issued in the complete overthrow of the mighty host, which proved an effectual check to aggression from any other quarter.

There was however one act of his reign which became a fruitful source of evil to his posterity, though the strength and sincerity of his own principles prevented it from becoming disastrous to himself personally.

A state of hostility with idolatrous Israel was Judah's

best security against apostacy, and the ill-advised alliance which he formed with Ahab, who had succeeded to the throne of Israel, after a long period of intestine commotion, brought on him a denunciation of the Divine wrath by the mouth of Jehu the son of Hanani. And even without this, his religious principles, which could not but be put to a severe trial in the court of his idolatrous ally, amid the assemblies of the prophets of Baal¹, and the ill success of the expedition against Ramoth-gilead, undertaken under their auspices and in defiance of the true prophet, issuing as it did in the death of Ahab, might have served to convince him of his error. Yet he afterwards joined himself with the sons and successors of Ahab, Ahaziah and Joram;—with the former in a mercantile undertaking in which his works were broken, and his projects defeated, according to the prophecy of Eliezer the son of Dodavah; with the latter in an expedition against the revolted Moabites, in which his presence procured for his ally the countenance of the prophet Elisha, with a miraculous deliverance from drought, and a complete victory over the enemy². The repetition of conduct which had been so plainly condemned, would make it appear that he had implicated himself with the royal family of Israel in a manner which bound him to forward their measures, and may be accounted for by the matrimonial connexion which he had allowed his eldest son to form with the house of Omri.

Such an alliance, as might have been expected, was in the last degree detrimental to the welfare of the nation. It was nothing strange that the son-in-law of the house of Ahab should walk in the way of the kings of Israel³. The first act of the reign of Jehoram, was the murder of all his brethren, and of many of the princes of Israel, and the

¹ 1 Kings xxii.² 2 Kings iii.³ 2 Kings viii. 18. 2 Chron. xxi.

remainder of his reign was answerable to this beginning; for, as though his own iniquity were a small matter, "he caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication, and compelled Judah thereto." The revolt of the Edomites, who had been subject to Judah from the days of David until this period, while it was a fulfilment of ancient prophecy¹, was a warning and a chastisement to him, but neglected and despised. And a voice which came to him, as it were, from another world, affected him no more; so hardened was he, and insensible. It was a letter from Elijah, indited by the spirit of prophecy, and written before his translation², reproving him for his sins, and denouncing the Divine vengeance; yet he remained impenitent; and the threatened punishments immediately came to pass. The Philistines and Arabians invaded the land, and sacked the city, and carried into captivity his children, and his wives; and left him the prey of a loathsome and incurable disease, under which, at the end of two years, he died miserably, unlamented, and "without being desired." He was succeeded, both in his government, and in his impiety, by his youngest son, Jehoahaz or Ahaziah³, who alone had escaped captivity, and "He also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab; for his mother was his counsellor to do wickedly." His sympathy with the king of Israel led to his destruction, in the revolt of Jehu, after a reign of one year; and many of the royal family of Judah shared the fate of the king.

Athaliah, the queen-mother, all but completed the extermination of those who survived, and usurped the kingdom for six years, when the rightful heir was restored under

¹ Gen. xxvii. 40.

² I adopt the most probable account, which is found also in the margin of the authorized version, 2 Chron. xxi. 12. The rapture of Elijah oc-

curred during the life of Jehoshaphat, 2 Kings ii. 3; xi. 3.

³ 2 Kings viii. 24—29; ix. 10. 2 Chron. xxi. 17.

circumstances which promised the extirpation of idolatry, and a revival of the national religion⁴. For the important services rendered to Jehoash by Jehoiada the high priest, gave the latter much influence over the mind of the youthful monarch; his proposal to repair the temple, which had been broken up, that its spoils might be bestowed on Baalim, called forth the religious zeal and devotion of the people; but the death of the high priest, in an extreme old age, clouded the bright prospect; and the murder of Zechariah the prophet, the son of his preserver, “between the porch and the altar⁶,” proved the strength of his attachment to the idolatry into which he had lapsed, and from which the Spirit of God in the prophet would have recalled him. A disastrous invasion of the Syrians, and a grievous malady, terminating in a violent death, by the hands of conspirators, was the fruit of this defection.

His son Amaziah met with a similar fate after a long reign, the latter part of which was too nearly conformed to the pattern of his fathers⁷. He had at first run well and prospered, but on his return from a successful expedition against the Edomites, he set up their gods to be his gods,

⁴ 2 Kings xi. 12.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22.

⁶ Matt. xxiii. 35. St Jerome’s account of the substitution of Barachiah for Jehoiada in this difficult passage, is scarcely satisfactory; viz., that Barachiah means “beloved of God,” and Jehoiada was a just man, and therefore beloved; but he adds, that the version of the gospel, in use among the Nazarenes, had Jehoiada for Barachiah. He says, that the “simpliciores fratres” in his day, still showed the stones red with his blood, in the temple inclosure at Jerusalem, (see also the Bordeaux

Pilgrim, who adds, the “*vestigia clavorum, militum, qui eum occiderunt.*”)

St Jerome’s indulgence for this credulity would not be considered very charitable in these days. “Non condemnamus errorem, qui de odio Judæorum, et fidei pietate descendit.” Vid. Comment. in loc. Vol. iv. Pt. i. pp. 112, 113, Ed. Bened; St Chrysostom, and many others, understand the allusion of the son of Barachiah, (Zech. i. 1). But this explanation appears inadmissible. See Poole’s Synop. in loc.

⁷ 2 Kings xiv; 2 Chron. xxv.

and being reproved for his folly, in "seeking after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their people out of his hand," he not only despised the admonition, but threatened the prophet, and was given over to an infatuation, the precursor of his ruin, which was brought about by means of a power which he himself had provoked to the contest. His wanton challenge of the king of Israel, prompted, as it would seem, by pride and self-sufficiency grounded on his former conquest, and persisted in against the remonstrance of his rival, involved both himself and his country in misery; for being defeated in a battle at Beth-shemesh, the conqueror brought him as a prisoner to Jerusalem, which he sacked, and pillaged, not even sparing the sacred vessels of the temple; and having broken down four hundred cubits of the wall, he returned to Samaria, leaving the king to repair his shattered fortunes as he could, and soon after to become the victim of the well-earned disaffection of his subjects.

The long and prosperous reign of Uzziah¹, who succeeded to his father's throne, at the early age of sixteen, served to place the affairs of Judah on a better footing. Having strengthened the defences of the capital, and of the country generally, he secured a period of peace by the terror with which he had inspired his troublesome neighbours in his wars against the Philistines and Arabians, by the establishment of a formidable standing army, and by the invention of military engines. He then devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and might have come to his grave in peace but for an act of unexampled presumption, which none of his predecessors, however abandoned, had yet dared to venture on. It was an attempt at a sacrilegious invasion of the priestly office; successfully resisted by the sons of Aaron; and signally visited by God himself, furnishing an example to suc-

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi.

ceeding generations of the danger of intruding into the sacred ministry—an example which will be no less eloquent under the new dispensation to those who look to the Old Testament for a rule of life, and for intimations of the Divine will: regarding the gospel as a continuation or extension—a fulfilment rather than an abrogation—of the law; and, as such, not requiring the repetition of the principles there laid down, but none the less both sanctioning and demanding the observance of those principles.

Uzziah was succeeded by his son Jotham, who is mentioned with commendation, though the corruption of the people was becoming deeper year by year², and the voices of the prophets who were raised up about this period, gave warning of approaching judgments. Joel and Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, were now uttering denunciations of wrath; and earthquake, and famine, and drought, with their attendant train of misery and distress, speedily ensued³; insomuch that there was not corn and wine sufficient for a meat-offering and a drink-offering in the house of the Lord:—and when the religious king, who must always be a check to the progress of vice even in an age of profligacy, was removed, and the succession of Ahaz⁴ secured countenance for iniquity and idolatry in the highest quarters, then sin indeed ran riot in the land, and, according to the strong expression of the prophet, “they drew iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope.” And judgment followed judgment, until they were almost exhausted, and there was no room to smite any more with the rod of chastisement⁵; the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, and from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no sound-

² 2 Chron. xxvii. 2.

³ Amos i. 1. Joel i. 2, 3, 7, 19.
Amos vii. 1. Hosea iv. 3. Isaiah i.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxviii.

⁵ So Lowth translates Isaiah i. 5.
“Where should ye be smitten.”

ness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores. The country desolate, the cities burned with fire, the land devoured by the enemies; the daughter of Zion desolate; a small remnant its only security against the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, which it had equalled, or exceeded, in its sin. Such is the picture of Judah's condition during the reign of this most profligate and abandoned of all her princes.

The confederacy of Pekah, king of Israel, with Rezin, king of Syria, resulted in their carrying off a large captivity, though Jerusalem itself escaped¹, and the last extremity of misery was averted by the intervention of the prophet Oded, and the interference of the princes of the tribe of Ephraim². The Edomites and the Philistines also invaded the land, possessed themselves of several cities, and carried away their inhabitants captives; so that Judah was brought very low. And the Assyrian, in whom they vainly trusted, was so far from helping, that he distressed and impoverished them still more; and this unholy alliance became the occasion of fresh sin, in which king and priests and people were all involved. To turn to the worship of the gods of Damascus, on the plea, "Because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me," was a more specious error than that of Amaziah—but his idolatry was the ruin of him and of all Israel.

There are few things more remarkable in the history of the kings of Judah than the frequent alternation of virtuous and wicked princes, contrary, it would seem, to the rule of the divine economy in the government of the world. One of the most striking instances of this apparent reversion of the order of Providence, is that of Hezekiah, of whom it

¹ Compare Isaiah vii. 1, 4, 8, and 2 Kings xvi. 5, with 2 Chron. xxviii. 5—8.

² 2 Chron. xxviii.

is recorded that "after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him." He found the church and state in a most deplorable condition, owing to the impiety of his predecessors. The high priest had been so far forgetful of his duty, as to lend himself to the idolatrous practices of Ahaz: the sacred vessels had been desecrated or destroyed, and the doors of the house of the Lord shut up³, to the entire suspension of all the prescribed services. The daily burnt-offering, indeed, was still offered, but not on the brazen altar, which had been removed from its place, and superseded by that which had been built after the fashion of the idol-altar at Damascus⁴; and the streets of Jerusalem were polluted with like memorials of the idolatrous excesses of the late reign. Hezekiah lost no time in commencing the purification of the temple from these abominations⁵. "In the first year of his reign, in the first month he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, and repaired them," and charged the priests and Levites, whom he assembled at Jerusalem, to prosecute the work of purification with vigour. In sixteen days it was accomplished, and a solemn dedication of the temple, rendered necessary by the late abuses, and a consecration of the priests and Levites to their several offices, proclaimed the re-establishment of the national religion.

His next care was the due observance of the Passover, which he proclaimed not only throughout his own dominions, but through the tribes of apostate Israel. His religious zeal, as was natural, excited the ridicule and contempt, and opposition of many; but on the whole, the revival was more general than could have been expected after so long a defection from the true worship of God, and a very great

³ 2 Chron. xxviii. 24.

⁴ 2 Kings xvi. 10—16.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxix. 32. 2 Kings xviii.

20.

congregation was assembled. It was a most joyful occasion, for "since the time of Solomon there was not the like in Jerusalem." In a short time all the symbols and insignia of idolatry were swept away: the high places, and the images, and the groves, were removed; and the brazen serpent that Moses had made—an object not only innocent in itself, but venerable from its associations—was destroyed, as having been abused to idolatrous practices. Neither was the reformation confined to the capital. The spirit of religious zeal descended from the prince to the people, and the whole land cleared of its abominations. The willing offering of the firstfruits and tithes, which were brought in so plentifully, that there was enough and to spare for all sacred purposes, bore witness to the sincerity of the offerers; and of the king it is said, that "in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered."

While these things were being transacted in Judah, the iniquity of the ten tribes had become full, and the long threatened judgment at last overtook them. The appointed minister of vengeance was Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. In his first invasion he reduced Hoshea, king of Israel, to a state of vassalage, but was content to leave him in possession of the throne, in consideration of an annual tribute; but when after an interval the tribute was withheld, and the vassal-monarch manifested a disposition to exchange the yoke of Assyria for that of Egypt¹, he again invaded the country, and laid siege to Samaria. At the end of three years he took the city, and carrying away the ten tribes to Media, peopled the desolated country with captives from other conquered

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 3, 4.

cities, whose small remnant at this day attests the truth of the sacred history².

The ruin of Israel would doubtless inspire the pious king of Judah with fresh zeal in the prosecution of the work in which he was engaged, if by any means he might avert the like calamities from his own country. Yet he took a course which human policy would have pronounced most likely to hasten that which he sought to prevent. The services of the Assyrian army had been purchased by Ahaz at the price of an annual tribute, the continued payment of which implied a dependence on its aid inconsistent with that simple reliance on God, which had ever been the best protection of the Jewish nation. Hezekiah therefore withdrew his fealty, and an invasion was the immediate consequence³: daunted for a time by the approach of his powerful enemy, he sought to escape the impending storm by a tardy submission; but, when at a later period he resumed his opposition, and again provoked the resentment of the great king, he was delivered, by a wonderful intervention of providence, from the threatened destruction. He had put the city in a state of complete defence, and taken all necessary precautions against the emergency of a blockade; but his trust was placed in something stronger than walls and bulwarks—even in Him who compasseth His people, as the hills stand around Jerusalem—and as he relied not on an arm of flesh, spiritual succour was vouchsafed

² 2 Kings xvii. 24, &c. and compare xviii. 24. The Samaritans are found only at Nablouse: in 1842, the community consisted of 39 taxable men, with their families; they are distinguished from all other denominations, by their somewhat Jewish physiognomy, the red turban, peculiar

to them, and their deep-seated hatred of the Jews. They receive only the Pentateuch, are rigid observers of the law, and sacrifice three times in the year on mount Gerizim.

³ Comp. 2 Kings xv. 2, 7, &c. and xviii. 7, 13—16.

to him before the invader had so much as cast a bank or shot an arrow against the city. Once, while at Lachish, he had detached three of his captains with a great host for this service, and they had come to Jerusalem and sat down before it; but the siege was raised, and the forces reunited at Libnah, from whence Sennacherib soon after marched to meet Tirhakah king of Ethiopia¹, having first sent an insulting message to king Hezekiah, threatening, on his return, to proceed in person to the subjugation of Jerusalem. It was during this expedition that the miraculous destruction of his numerous army forced him to a precipitous retreat to his own country, where he met with a violent death from the hands of his own children; yet so memorable was this invasion, that the camp of the Assyrians, on the north of Jerusalem, was ever afterwards had in remembrance, and was occupied by Titus himself during the blockade of the city by the Romans². The prosperous reign of Hezekiah, which was almost blameless, was miraculously prolonged for fifteen years, and his death left the throne vacant for a son who had nothing in common with him.

¹ The Taraco of Manetho, of the Ethiopian dynasty, called Sethon, priest of Vulcan, by Herodotus, Book II. c. 141. See Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. II. p. 383. Milman observes from Horapollo, that "total destruction was represented in Egyptian hieroglyphics by the symbol of a mouse." This, if correct, will throw great light on the version of this story given by Herodotus, who very possibly derived it "from the misinterpretation of an hieroglyphic, in which the shield, the quiver and the bow, the usual symbols by which, as in Hebrew poetry, the might of a great army is represent-

ed, were destroyed by some secret and unseen, or insignificant instrument of the divine power, typified by the field-mouse." History of the Jews, Vol. I. p. 307, 8. This writer, with others, attributes the catastrophe to the Simoom, which seems a very arbitrary and unauthorised method of interpretation. The same may be said of the substitution of Pelusium for Libnah in this history; for he could scarcely imagine them to be identical. Joshua xii. 7, 15.

² Josephus, Jewish War, Lib. XII. cap. 2.

Figure 1. The view from the summit of the mountain, looking south, showing the city of Mexico, the bay, and the surrounding country.



The long reign of Manasseh³, who equalled, if he did not exceed, the worst kings of Israel in the enormity of his wickedness, reduced the kingdom to such a state, that when in his later years, under the discipline of affliction, he had learnt true wisdom in his dungeon at Babylon, his most strenuous efforts to extirpate the idolatry which he had planted were unavailing⁴, and he had to reap the bitter fruits of those iniquities of which he had deeply repented, and which his whole soul abhorred. And as he could not stop the torrent of depravity to which he had opened the flood-gates, so neither could he avert the after-consequences of his transgressions, which are ever mentioned as the chief moving cause of the Babylonish captivity⁵: a solemn warning indeed, that repentance, however sincere, however availing through God's mercy to the salvation of the individual penitent, cannot cancel the past, or reverse the righteous decree which has connected sin and misery together by an inseparable tie. Something however was effected; the people were induced, by the example and admonition of their king, to abandon the worship of the false gods, but the continuance of the high places, to which they clung with fond idolatry, left open the door to defection from the true object of worship: and evil principles had become too deeply seated in his son Amon to be eradicated by the late repentance of his father, whose early impiety he imitated during the two years of his reign⁶.

His violent death placed the young Josiah on the throne⁷, a prince whose devoted loyalty to the King of kings would have redeemed his land from destruction, had not the iniquity of his predecessors opposed an insuperable

³ 2 Kings xxi.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11—17.

⁵ See 2 Kings xxi. 11, 12; xxiii. 26,

xxiv. 3; and Jerem. xv. 4.

⁶ 2 Kings xxi. 23, &c.

⁷ 2 Kings xxii. xxiii.

obstacle to pardoning mercy. He had come to the throne at the early age of eight years, when youth and inexperience would disqualify him to take a decided line, even if his principles had disposed him to run counter to the first lessons which his childhood had received under the tuition of an idolatrous father. But although he laboured under such disadvantages, and had to grope his way from darkness to light, while the lamp of divine truth lay buried in oblivion, yet he made marvellous progress. "In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek God," and in "the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images." The earlier part of this reformation was conducted on such principles of pure religion as tradition had preserved; for such had been the abandonment of its precepts, since the time of Hezekiah, that the written depository of the Mosaic law had been lost and almost forgotten. It was recovered by Hilkiah the priest, while repairing the temple; but the clearer understanding of its requirements created amazement and dismay in the tender heart of the young prince. He rent his clothes and wept at the remembrance of the contempt which had been poured upon the law, and from dread of the impending wrath which its transgression had provoked, and sent to enquire of the Lord concerning it. The answer which he received from Huldah the prophetess was discouraging in the extreme. For the nation, a threat of speedy recompense for their aggravated sins—fiery indignation shortly to be poured upon Jerusalem; for Josiah himself, a promise that he should be taken away from the evil to come—removed by death from a participation in those judgments which might not now be averted, and only for a brief season delayed. Never did reformer prosecute his task under

such gloomy forebodings, but never any with more fervent zeal than he. He built as for eternity, though he knew that a few years would lay all his labours in the dust, when the destroyer should come up with axes and hammers to break down the carved work which he was setting up, to set fire upon the holy places which he was renewing, and to carry away the living stones of the spiritual church to captivity in a heathen land.

The busy sounds of the workmen who were engaged in the repairs of the temple, or in the demolition of the high places and idol-altars from Geba to Beersheba, were but a prelude to the sounds which should accompany the devastation of the invading army; and the joyful acclamations of the assembled multitude at the feast of the Passover in his 18th' year, were strangely contrasted with the swan-like strains of the Prophet Jeremiah, singing the dirge of the parting glory of Judah! Its doom was speedily consummated! The situation of Judea between two powerful rival sovereignties has frequently exposed it to the horrors of war, and it now became the scene of the conflict between Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, and the formidable founder of the new Assyrian dynasty in Babylon¹. The king of Judah was probably bound by his oath of vassalage to the Assyrians, to guard their frontier against the aggressor, whom he encountered in the plain of Esdraelon², which has been

¹ Necho was the son and successor of Psammeticus, who had restored the fallen throne of the Pharaohs, by founding the 26th dynasty. Josephus says, that this expedition was "against the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians." Ant. x. v. 1. The combined forces of Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, (father of the great Nebuchad-

nezzar), and Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, king of Media, had taken Nineveh two years before this (i. e. in 612 B.C.) See Prideaux's *Connexion* at this year.

² There is no necessity to suppose, with Milman (*Hist. Jews*, Vol. I. p. 313), that "the Jewish copyists may have substituted the more familiar name Megiddo for the remote Magdolum." It

the battle-field of the world in ancient and modern times. In this engagement Josiah was mortally wounded, and died shortly after. Well might the prophet lament the death of this pious prince, since his death was the knell of Jerusalem¹: for as the destruction of Sodom was delayed until just Lot had effected his escape, so with the spiritual Sodom, its judgments commenced as soon as Josiah had been removed. It would appear that after a successful campaign in Syria, Necho led his victorious army against Jerusalem², where having deposed Jehqahaz, whom the people had made king in his father's stead, he carried him to Egypt³, and

It is much more probable that Herodotus was mistaken by the similarity of the name. Zechariah xii. 11—which is commonly taken to refer to this disastrous defeat—seems to fix it to Megiddo, in the tribe of Manasseh. See St Jerome, Comment. in Zech. loc. cit.; and for a satisfactory answer to the common objections, see Reland's Palestine, sub voc. *Megiddo*. This city is now represented by Leggûn. In the account given of these events by Josephus, all the extant Greek copies have *Μένδην πόλιν*; but there can be little doubt that he wrote *Μέγδην*, for he expressly says that it was in the kingdom of Josiah, and we nowhere read of such a city as Mendes within these limits. Ant. Lib. x. cap. v.

¹ 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, and Lam. iv. 20.

² The taking of Jerusalem by Pharaoh-Necho is not expressly mentioned in scripture, but it is implied. Herodotus no doubt alludes to these events, 11. 159: “Σύροισι περὶ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν, ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδουτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εὐρυσαν μεγάλην εἶλε.” What-

ever difficulty or ambiguity there may be in this historian's reference to Cadytis in 111. 5, it can be hardly doubted that in this passage by Cadytis is intended Jerusalem. It must have been early called by a name corresponding to that by which alone it is now known among the Arabs—“el-Kuds,” or “The Holy.” See Neh. xi. 1—18; Isai. xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53. The passages from Isaiah prove that it was known to the Hebrews by the appellation of עִיר הַקֹּדֶשׁ before the time of Josiah, the Arabic pronunciation of which would come nearer to the form which it assumes in Herodotus. Reland, Palestina, p. 668, &c., states the arguments against this view. See on the other side Raumer's Palestine, under the article “Jerusalem.” A memorial of the Ἰηρὺσιος πόλις, in the passage of Herodotus last referred to, is still found in “Khan Yunas,” about fifteen miles south of Gaza.

³ Called Shallum in Jer. xxii. 11. He was youngest son of Josiah. See 1 Chron. iii. 15, and compare 2 Kings xxiii. 31 and 36. Josiah's children

placing Jehoiakim, his brother, on the throne, condemned the land in a heavy tribute. The defeat of the Egyptian army at the Euphrates, a few years later⁴, followed by their evacuation of all Syria and Palestine⁵, brought another reverse of fortune. Jerusalem was now taken by the Chaldeans; the king and some of the royal princes were brought to Babylon⁶, with part of the sacred vessels of the temple: but Jehoiakim was subsequently restored and confirmed in the kingdom, until a vain attempt to renew his independence resulted in his ruin, when, according to the testimony of Josephus, he met with the fate which Jeremiah the prophet had denounced⁷; being put to death by the command of the conqueror, and thrown unburied before the walls of Jerusalem. Jehoiachin⁸, his son, succeeded for three months, at the end of which time Nebuchadnezzar again came up and besieged the city, when the king, with all the members of the royal family, and the principal officers of state, delivered themselves up to him, and were carried into captivity, and Zedekiah, his uncle, was appointed by the king

were, 1. Johanan, 2. Jehoiakim, 3. Zedekiah, 4. Shallum.

⁴ Jer. xlii. 2, &c. Pharaoh-Necho held Carchemish about three years, from 610 to 607, B. C.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiv. 7. The events referred to in this verse must belong to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, B. C. 607.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. It was on this occasion that Daniel and his companions were carried captive. Dan. i. 7. And from this year the 70 years' captivity are to be dated to the first decree of Cyrus. Jer. xxvi. ; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, &c. See Prideaux's Connection, ann. 518 and 515, B. C., for three ingenious computations of this period. It is singular that Josephus

passes over this first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in his first year. Indeed he says, that after he had vanquished Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish, "he passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria as far as Pelusium, *excepting Judaea*, which he did not invade until four years after." Ant. x. vi. 1.

⁷ Ant. x. sect. 3. Comp. Jer. xxii. 18, 19. Josephus says, that it was on this occasion that Ezekiel was carried captive with 3000 of his countrymen of the chief dignity.

⁸ 2 Kings xxiv. 6—16. Called Jehoniah, 1 Chron. iii. 16; Jer. xxiv. 1; and Coniah, Jer. xxii. 24, 28.

of Babylon to the throne of Judah¹. It was now little better than an empty title, the domination of the foreign monarch, and the insolence of the native princes, had robbed it of all its real dignity².

Zedekiah was scarcely seated on his throne, when he was solicited to enter into a confederacy with the petty princes of the neighbouring nations, with a view to throw off the yoke of the king of Babylon³; and although for a time he declined to join the league, yet when it was strengthened by the accession of the king of Egypt, he was induced to do so, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the effects of whose inspired denunciations were counteracted by a multitude of false prophets, whose only care was to assimilate their predictions to the wishes of the powerful.

At length, the conspiracy having become formidable, Nebuchadnezzar again marched at the head of his army towards the devoted city, which was selected by lot to become the first example of his vengeance⁴.

In the tenth month of the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the month, the city was besieged; and on the self-same day the prophet Ezekiel, in the land of his captivity, was informed of the irrevocable destruction determined upon it⁵.

Yet the delusive hopes of the rebellious princes were again revived by the approach of the Egyptian army under Pharaoh Hophra, who had lately succeeded his father Psammis, the son of Necho, on the throne of that country⁶. The

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 17, &c. His original name was Mattaniah.

² See Jer. xxxviii. 5, 24—26.

³ Jer. xxvii.; where, in the first verse, it is evident that "Zedekiah" must be read instead of "Jehoiakim."

⁴ Ezek. xxi. 20, &c.

⁵ 2 Kings xxv. 1, &c.; Ezek. xxiv. 1, &c.

⁶ The Pharaoh Hophra of scripture is the Apries of Herodotus. The succession according to this writer was as

siege was indeed raised for a time by this movement; but the predictions of the prophet Jeremiah were soon verified, when, on the retreat of the Egyptians, the Chaldeans again invested the fated city⁷. One only refuge now remained, and submission might still have saved the kingdom, but the king dared not have recourse to this measure⁸, and accordingly in the eleventh year of his reign, the city being reduced to the last extremity, its defence was abandoned, and the conqueror, provoked by the obstinate defence of the besieged, and wearied out by the frequent rebellion of these vassal kings of his own creation, determined to crush the spirit of revolt for ever.

Zedekiah, who had attempted to escape, was pursued and taken; his children were put to death before his eyes at Riblah; the principal officers, ecclesiastical and civil, shared the same fate, and he was sent blinded and in fetters to Babylon⁹. The temple, with all the buildings of Jerusalem, was destroyed by fire, and the wall completely demolished. Those celebrated works in molten brass, executed by Hiram the Tyrian, with which Solomon had adorned his temple, the sea of ten cubits in diameter supported by twelve oxen, the bases and the pillars Jachin and Boaz, each of them eighteen cubits in height and twelve in circumference, which stood in the porch, and had hitherto escaped the rapacity of native and foreign spoilers, were now broken in pieces, to facilitate the transportation of the valuable materials to Babylon.

follows: Psammeticus, who reigned 54 years (Lib. II. 157, ending about 617, B.C.); Necho, 16 years (c. 159); Psammis, 6 years (c. 161); Apries, 25 years (c. 161); Amasis, 44 years; Psammenitus, 6 months (Lib. III. 10).

⁷ Jer. xxxvii. 5, &c.

⁸ Jer. xxi. 8, 9; xxxviii. 14—23.

⁹ The apparent discrepancy between

Jeremiah xxxii. 4, and Ezekiel xii. 13, which was thus reconciled, is mentioned by Josephus as the reason of the disbelief of the king and the princes. It was exactly such an inconsistency as an infidel would delight to detect. But "the foolishness of God is wiser than men."

It is remarkable, that neither in any of the three inspired accounts which we have of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, nor in any other part of canonical Scripture, is any mention made of the fate of that most sacred object of veneration in the Levitical worship—the ark of the covenant, with its holy contents. Of the sacred vessels, we are distinctly told that part were carried away entire to Babylon, and deposited there in the idol-temple, and afterwards desecrated to most unhallowed uses, while the remainder were broken to pieces, and their materials probably applied to the same purpose¹: it were strange that the ark should be passed over in silence, if it shared a like fate. We know, from Jewish tradition, that it had no place in the second temple, in which chiefly consisted its inferiority to the former, in their estimation²: an imitation of it was deposited in the most holy place, which subsequently fell into the hands of the Romans, was carried in the triumphal procession, and has been supposed by some to be represented in the arch of Titus³; but the fate of the veritable ark, which had wrought such wonders in the idol-temple of the Philistines⁴, is nowhere recorded on any certain authority; and we are left to adopt the most probable of the conflicting legends of the later Jewish and early Christian churches.

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, 18; 2 Kings xxiv. 13; Dan. i. 2; v. 2, 3.

² See Johannis Buxtorf I. Fil.; *Exercitationes ad Historiam Arcæ Fœderis*, p. 181. Basil. 1659, and Prideaux's *Connexion*, anno 534, B.C.

³ Josephus, who was present at the triumph, mentions the Candlestick, the Shew-bread Table, and the Law, as having been carried in the procession, &c. *de Bell. Jud. vii. v. 5*. This last

is not represented in the arch; it is supposed to have been carried in the Ark. Prideaux as above. It is now agreed, that it is the Table, and not the Ark, which is still to be traced, with the Candlestick, on this venerable and most interesting monument at Rome. Buxtorf, *de Arcâ Fœderis*, p. 201. Andricomius *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, No. 77, on Jerusalem, takes it for the Ark.

⁴ 1 Sam. v.

The prevailing belief of the former has been, that this venerable relic of their religion is miraculously preserved in a secret chamber of most difficult access, prepared by Solomon in the sacred rock within the great mosque at Jerusalem, where it was deposited by king Josiah, under the direction of Huldah the prophetess⁵; a tradition which is faithfully recorded by the chroniclers of the Crusades⁶, but which they hesitate to adopt, inclining rather to the account contained in the ancient records referred to in the second book of Maccabees, which relate that it was concealed by Jeremiah the prophet in obedience to a divine command, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, in a cave under Mount Nebo, where, with the tabernacle and altar of incense, it is preserved in safe custody, "until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy⁷." And however unsatisfactory these accounts may appear, it is surely a matter of no little interest, and it is every way probable, that He who had honoured it as the seat of his glory for so many centuries, would preserve it from such desecration as it must have undergone had it fallen into the hands of the Chaldeans; and least of all is it to be believed that it was consumed in the conflagration of the temple, as the rapacity which prompted the spoliation of its other treasures would not have abstained from the

⁵ For this they quote 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, in his Commentary on which passage, R. D. Kimchi gives the tradition of the Rabbies, as does Abarbanel on Daniel ix. 24. Other great rabbinical authorities think it was carried to Babylon. The curious reader may consult Buxtorf, *de Arcâ Fœderis*, capp. xxi. xxii. where will be found some curious specimens of the Biblical criticism of

the Rabbies.

⁶ See in the collection *Gesta Dei, per Francos*; Albertus Aquensis, lib. vi. cap. 22. p. 280; Fulcherii *Gesta Peregrin. Franc. c. xviii*, and *Gesta Franc. Expug. Hierus. p. 573*.

⁷ 2 Macc. ii. 4—8, with which Josephus nearly agrees. Epiphanius, in his life of Jeremiah, adds many circumstances to these accounts.

precious materials with which this sacred depository was ornamented and overlaid¹.

The last invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, with its disastrous termination, all but extinguished the national existence of the Hebrew people, and the small remnant that was suffered to remain in the ruined country persisted in a series of rebellion, both against the majesty of heaven and their earthly rulers, which involved them in further trouble, and finally terminated in the entire depopulation of the land, which now lay waste and enjoyed her sabbaths until the period determined before by God, and declared by his prophets, had expired.

¹ This last opinion of Dr Lightfoot appears to be unsupported by any authority whatever. See his Prospect

of the Temple, cap. xv. Vol. ix. p. 296. Pitman's edition.





Tombs of the Kings.

CHAPTER II.

ON his entrance into Babylon the Median conqueror found the Jewish captives in possession of the highest offices of trust in the empire. They had been recommended to the monarchs of the old dynasty, not merely by their natural endowments, and by their stedfast allegiance to their heavenly Master—the best earnest of fidelity to his earthly delegates—but by special miracles, wrought for their deliverance from a death which their constancy had earned. The favorites of heaven would be recommended to their new lord by the same excellent spirit which had originally led to their exaltation¹; and they, for their part, would regard him as the appointed instrument of that deliverance which

¹ Daniel iii. vi.

they knew must be nigh at hand¹. The name of Cyrus had been proclaimed as their restorer two centuries before, by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah²; a fact which would no doubt be early communicated to him by the prophet Daniel, now the first minister of state in the kingdom, whose peculiar position as a captive in the land of strangers would enable him to transfer his services to a new master, without the suspicion or imputation of political infidelity.

The first year of the reign of Cyrus witnessed the promulgation of the decree permitting the return of the Jews, and the restoration of their religious polity in the land of their fathers³. It was heartily responded to by a large body of the nation, although obedience was in no way compulsory, and involved no small sacrifice. The children of the captivity in Babylon had been enjoined "to build houses and dwell in them, and to plant gardens and eat the fruit of them, and to seek the peace of the city, whither they had been carried captive, and to pray for it; for in the peace thereof should they have peace⁴." The favour and distinction enjoyed by their brethren in the capital, and in the provinces, would have procured for them a position of security and honour in their now adopted country, and a selfish feeling might have led them to prefer the ease and quiet of a settled land, to the confusion and distraction of a state of incipient civilization, in a land emerging from ruin. But the love of country—a country associated in their minds with all that was most sacred—was not to be counteracted by the love of ease; so that the leaders of this first national expedition were accompanied by more than fifty thousand

¹ Daniel ix. 2.

² Isaiah xlv. 28. Josephus says expressly, that it was the reading of this prophecy that instigated Cyrus

to issue his decree, Ant. xi. i. 3.

³ Ezra i. 1, &c.

⁴ Jeremiah xxix. 5—7.

persons, carrying with them large contributions from such of their brethren as remained behind, and armed with full powers to proceed immediately with the re-construction of the temple. And, what would be of no less importance to this devoted band, they had at their head a representative of the royal house of David, and the lineal descendant and legal successor of their last high priest, whose very name would be a hopeful remembrancer to the returning captives of their forefathers' entrance into the land of promise, under the guidance of the son of Nun⁵. Moreover, such of the sacred vessels as had escaped destruction were now brought back to Jerusalem, having been restored by the munificence of Cyrus, no doubt at the intercession of Daniel; and as this is the latest Scripture notice of this sacred furniture of the temple, this will be a fitting place to introduce a singular story of much later times.

It is reported by a contemporaneous historian⁶, that when the great Belisarius triumphed over the Vandals at Constantinople, in the sixth century, among other spoils recovered from the barbarians in Africa were the sacred vessels of the Jews, which Titus the son of Vespasian had brought to Rome, with other trophies, after the taking of Jerusalem, and of which the Vandals had become masters, on the sacking of Rome, in the preceding century. A certain Jew having seen these, mentioned his opinion to some of the Emperor's familiars, that they could not be brought into the palace without great risk, and that they could not be safely

⁵ Zerubbabel (called in Haggai i. 1, "the governor of Judah,") was the son of Shealtiel, (called Salathiel, Matt. i. 12) the son of Jechoniah; compare 1 Chron. iii. 17, and Matt. i. 12. Jehozadak, the father of Joshua, was the son

of Seraiah, who had been put to death at Riblah, on the destruction of the temple, 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15.

⁶ Procopius the secretary of Belisarius, *De Bell. Vand. Lib. II. cap. 9.*

deposited in any other place than that where Solomon the king of the Jews had originally dedicated them¹. He represented that it was on account of these Genseric had been allowed to take the royal palace at Rome, and on account of these again that the Vandals had been conquered by the Romans. The Emperor, being awed by these representations, immediately dispatched them in all haste to the Christian Churches in Jerusalem. After which, I am not aware that history makes any further mention of them.

Arrived in their own land, the restored exiles did not wait for the re-edification of the material building, to provide the essentials of divine worship. The altar was forthwith built, and the daily burnt-offering duly established, and materials were speedily collected, conformably to the decree of Cyrus, for the fabric. Again the forests of Lebanon rang with the woodman's axe—unconsciously engaged in the fulfilment of ancient prophecy—again the ports of Tyre and Joppa swarmed with a busy crowd conveying the floats of timber to their destination, as in olden times; and the work sped so well, that in the second month of the second year of their return, the foundations of the temple were solemnly laid amid the shouts of the rejoicing multitude, strangely mingled with the sobs of the ancient men who had seen the former house in its first glory, and in whose eyes this second temple appeared “as a very little thing.” The glorious reminiscences of by-gone days might well produce mingled emotions, venting themselves in tears, and they who, while grateful for present mercies, have felt the melting, humbling influence produced by the contemplation of

¹ It is an unfortunate circumstance for the Solomonian origin of these sacred vessels, that the book of Maccabees and Josephus both relate the destruction of

them by Antiochus Epiphanes. They may probably have been those which Judas Maccabæus dedicated on recovering the temple.

those gothic piles, which the piety of former ages—however faulty, and however despised—created with earnest devotion in the land of their birth, and contrasted it with the “nicely-calculated” expenditure of a more enlightened age, will sympathise with that war of feelings which agitated these ancient men, and will feel comfort in being permitted to mingle their tears with this reverend and mournful company; while the vulgar—more happy in their ignorance—may contemplate with unalloyed satisfaction the lesser offerings of a wealthier age, more prodigal on self, more niggardly in the service of God. Notwithstanding that the considerate conqueror had provided for the due observance of his decree by the appointment of a distinguished member of the royal house of Judah as Tirshatha or Governor of Palestine, yet the rejection of the aid tendered by the half-idolatrous Samaritans, aggravated as it was by the denial of all affinity with them, exasperated these aspirants to a share in the religious privileges of Jerusalem, and enlisted all their prejudices against the undertaking in which the Jews were engaged. They succeeded, by means of misrepresentation and bribery, in procuring an order for the suspension of the works, which led to an interruption of fourteen years. It would appear that the conduct of the Jews on this occasion should have determined a question much debated in later times, as to the propriety of availing ourselves of the aid of infidels or heretics, for the promotion of designs of an undoubted religious tendency. All that the Samaritans asked was to assist in the restoration of the temple—a laudable object, without question—but the acceptance of the offer would have involved a recognition of their errors, utterly inconsistent with the exclusive principles of true religion, both under the Old and New Dispensation.

The hostility then provoked by the uncompromising

maintenance of such principles was not imputed as a fault to the Jews; but their easy acquiescence in the suspension of their work subjected them to the Divine reproof¹. Not that they were encouraged to act contrary to the decree of the king, to whom God's providence had subjected them; but the fundamental law of the Medes and Persians, forbidding the reversal of any royal decree, must have frustrated the machinations of their adversaries, had it been urged at the right time and in the proper quarters. But the zeal which actuated the captives to undertake their pilgrimage had died down; they had turned aside to the consideration of their own comforts, and persuaded themselves that the time had not arrived for the restoration of the temple; an obvious temptation to which "builders" in the spiritual temple, at home and abroad, are exposed, which may in some measure account for the tardy progress which the "holy house" has made, in an age of missionary exertion on an extensive scale.

Recalled to a sense of their duty, by the earnest remonstrances, and encouraged to the performance of it by the gracious promises of God by Zechariah and Haggai, the Jews, acting on the original decree of Cyrus, recommenced the building, when a representation made to the seat of government, by the viceroy of Syria, resulted in a strong confirmation of that edict, which had been discovered in the archives.

In the twentieth year after the return from Babylon, the temple was dedicated with burnt-offerings and sacrifices, the paucity of which contrasted no less strongly with the multitude of Solomon's, than the poverty of this building with the magnificence of that².

¹ See the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah throughout.

² Compare Ezra vi. 17, with 1 Kings viii. 63.

The removal by death of the leaders of those who first returned, and of the prophets, led to great confusion and disorder in the infant colony—especially in respect to the marriages which they contracted with the people of the land—so that when Ezra arrived, nearly sixty years after the dedication of the temple, with a considerable detachment of pilgrims, he witnessed a state of things which loudly called for contrition and amendment. A strong influence very near the throne of Persia had secured to him all the assistance which government influence could afford, and his powers were very ample; but civil enactments could not reach the moral evil: fasting, and weeping, and prayer, accomplished what the commission could not effect, and the reformation of abuses proceeded much more speedily than could have been anticipated, where the affections of the people were so deeply involved.

But while the ready scribe was thus engaged in the chief seat of Jewish worship, a dark cloud gathered over his nation, which threatened the destruction, not merely of their civil and religious polity, but of their very existence³. The deep-laid scheme of the artful Haman, the hereditary enemy of the Hebrew nation, who would rid himself of the presence of a hated rival by the extermination of the whole race, had been provided against in a marvellous manner, by the watchful providence of God, and was frustrated through the instrumentality of a Jewish captive, raised to the dignity of queen by the favour of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the reigning king of Persia. The wonderful deliverance thus accomplished is still commemorated annually by the Jews, in the feast of Purim, as indeed are most of the events connected with the captivity, by the observance of festivals or fasts, according to the colour of the event commemorated.

³ See the book of Esther throughout.

But although the malice of Haman had been so graciously overruled, that the Jews were placed on a better and more secure footing than before, by the exaltation of their countryman, Mordecai, to the chief management of the empire, yet would this threatened destruction of their nation, which was averted instrumentally only by their own prowess, strongly impress upon Ezra and his coadjutors the defenceless condition of the restored remnant, inhabiting an unwallèd city, in the midst of powerful and ever-watchful foes. But he had no authority to rebuild the walls; and to have attempted it without express permission would surely have been represented, and indeed would have worn the appearance, of an overt act of rebellion against the Median king. In this emergency, unexpected succour was vouchsafed unsolicited, from the very capital itself¹. Nehemiah arrived with full authority from Artaxerxes himself, to repair and restore the ruined fortifications of the city. He had learnt in Susa the desolate condition of his brethren in Judæa, and was too deeply afflicted to conceal his grief before his royal master, near whose person he held an office of the highest dignity and trust. Invited by the condescension of the king, and encouraged by the presence of queen Esther², he made known the cause of his grief, and preferred the bold request that he might be sent to the city of his fathers' sepulchres to build it. The petition was instantly granted, and written orders made out for the supply of all necessary materials, and under a strong escort, spontaneously granted by his master, the new governor set out on his joyful errand. Three days after his arrival at Jerusalem he took a nocturnal survey of the walls, with all the secrecy rendered

¹ Nehemiah i., &c.

² The parenthetic clause in Neh. ii. 6, is no doubt emphatic.

necessary by the peculiar position of his countrymen, and immediately afterwards proposed to commence their repair. He was warmly seconded by the priests and nobles, to whom he made known the full powers granted him by Artaxerxes; but their intentions were no sooner discovered by their enemies, than they commenced a systematic opposition to the undertaking. Neither force nor fraud were wanting, the old accusation of disaffection and rebellion was revived and urged with greater vehemence than ever, but the work sped well notwithstanding. Watches were set against any sudden assault, and the very labourers were armed, and all requisite precautions adopted, so that in the incredibly short space of fifty-two days, notwithstanding all hinderances, the whole work was accomplished³. The ancient foundations, it is true, with the materials of the old wall, were made available for the new, and were close at hand; for although the scanty population of the modern town might have been compressed within much narrower limits than those of the ancient city, yet Nehemiah and his companions in labour, who were building for future generations, looked forward in faith to a time when "the waste and desolate places, and the land of their destruction, should be too narrow, by reason of the inhabitants, and Zion's children should say in her ears, The place is too strait for me; give place to me, that I may dwell;" and their faith was expressed in their acts, while they built "from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner, and the measuring line went forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and compassed about to Goath⁴." The reformation of various abuses, the devout observance of the feast of tabernacles, according to the Mosaic ordinance,

³ Josephus, Ant. xi. v. 8, gives two years and four months to the building of the walls, which seems quite irrecon-

cilable with Nehem. vi. 15.

⁴ Isaiah xlix. 19, 20; Jerem. xxxi. 38, 39.

and the solemn dedication of the wall, gave witness to the restoration of the civil and religious polity of the Jewish people; and the two principal actors in this blessed work would rejoice together in the good success of their labours, which they endeavoured to render permanent, by the revival of a strict discipline.

How long they were permitted to reap in joy what they had sown in tears, we are nowhere told; but Ezra was probably advanced in years, at the time of Nehemiah's arrival, and did not long survive the completion of the reformation; but the Christian church has cause to remember with gratitude the literary labours of this blessed man, for to him is ascribed by universal consent¹ the collection of the canonical Scriptures, and the careful revision of the whole, with the addition of such notices as were necessary for the elucidation of the sacred text: and because the Babylonish captivity had rendered both the language and character of the Hebrew Scriptures unintelligible to the majority of those who returned, he provided for the present edification of the people, by the appointment of scribes, whose business it was to read and interpret the law in synagogues, which appear now to have been first erected; and for the safe transmission of the sacred books, by the transcription of them in the Chaldean characters, which have been ever since in use among the Jews, while the more ancient orthography has been continued to this day by the Samaritans, in which also their highly valued Pentateuch and all their sacred books are preserved².

¹ See St Irenæus apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Vol. viii. for the tradition of the Church, and Prideaux's Connection, Part I. Lib. v. under the year 446, for a full and particular account of

Ezra's labours, from Jewish authorities; and for synagogues, under the year 444 B. C.

² See Prideaux, Part I. Book vi. and under the year 409, for an interest-

The abuses and irregularities which had been reformed with so much labour required constant vigilance and active care to prevent them from getting head again. Even during the temporary absence of Nehemiah they had taken root in the very courts of God's house, and on his removal by death, the priests and people lapsed into their old evil practices; then the peace, which had been secured by the wise measures of their civil and ecclesiastical rulers, met with a sad interruption from the violence of John, the grandson of Eliashib, who slew his own brother Jesus in the very temple, while the latter was attempting to supplant him in his office under the protection of the Persian general Bazores, who, in revenge for this murder, polluted the temple and oppressed the Jews for seven years³. But the younger son of John was the cause of a greater and more lasting evil, by his wilful contempt of the Divine ordinances. He had taken to wife the daughter of one Sanballat, of Samaria; and, by this act, had so offended the prejudices of his countrymen, who had been effectually drawn away from this prohibited practice, by the earnest admonitions of the prophet Malachi, that he was required to divorce his wife, or to abstain from the performance of his sacerdotal functions. Unwilling to resign the emoluments of his office, but without any sense of its real value, he at first proposed to embrace the former part of the alternative; but his father-in-law proposed a measure by which he might retain both the priesthood and his wife. The Samaritans having been instructed by the Hebrew priests

ing account of this treasure of the Samaritans. This valuable MS., which professes to have been written by Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was seen by the writer and four other English travellers,

in the summer of 1842, after it had been carefully hid for many years; the priest having amused other Franks with a view of a fictitious one.

³ Joseph, Ant. xi. vii.

in the law of the God of Israel, had grafted his worship on to their old idolatry¹. But their polity was very imperfect without a high priest of the family of Aaron; and it was probably a sense of this defect that had led them to proffer their services in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. Disowned by the Jews, and all affinity with them being strictly prohibited, the desire of revenge would furnish an additional motive to perpetuate the schism, which they had in vain attempted to heal. To this end it was necessary, as with the early heretics in Christian times, to secure by all means the lawful succession of the priesthood. A favourable opportunity for effecting this was now presented. Sanballat undertook to raise his renegade son-in-law to the highest dignity of the Samaritan secession, and to build him a temple on mount Gerizim, which should rival or eclipse that at Jerusalem². The simple design of church-discipline is to correct or to dis sever the corrupt members of the orthodox body. The effect has frequently been, to diminish for a time the forces of the faithful, but purity will always be considered far more important than mere numerical strength in a spiritual community. There were many among the priests and Levites who had imitated the practice of Manasseh, in taking to themselves foreign wives. It was nothing strange that they should follow him in his schism. Thus the temple on mount Gerizim, erected by express permission of the civil power, was consecrated under the auspices of this recreant band, with such ceremonials as they had been accustomed to observe in their ministrations at the Holy City,

¹ 2 Kings xvii.

² For the involved chronology of this period, the reader is referred to Prideaux's Connection, under the year 409. He takes this Sanballat to be the

old enemy of Nehemiah. Josephus, viii. ii. says that the father-in-law of Manasseh was then "an old man," which I think Prideaux does not remark.

and the fire on its altars was doomed to burn long after the ashes on the altar at Jerusalem had been scattered abroad for ever³. During the continuance of the Jewish polity "this mountain" became a refuge to the disaffected members of the Jewish church, and a constant subject of dispute and jealousy at home and abroad, and when their old rivals had been removed, the Samaritans turned their hatred against the Christians, until their violence called for the intervention of the Christian emperor Zeno, who transferred to the Christians the Samaritan temple, in reprisals for the ruin and desecration of five churches in the city of Nablouse. In the reign of Anastasius it was recovered for a short time by the Samaritans, who were finally ejected by the emperor Justinian, when the mountain was more strongly fortified, many of the Samaritans converted to the faith of Christ, and the five churches which they had destroyed rebuilt by the munificence of the emperor⁴.

While the infant colony at Jerusalem had been slowly advancing in strength, under the protection of the Persian monarchs, who allowed them to live under their own laws, and the free exercise of their national faith, the second kingdom of Daniel's prophetic vision had run its course,—the bear must give place to the leopard⁵. The Persian monarchs, who had tried the power of Grecian patriotism by sea and land, during the preceding century, were now to succumb before the ambition of the Macedonian "barbarian," who had rolled back the tide of war across the Hellespont, which

³ They were indeed quenched for a time on the destruction of their temple by John Hyrcanus, Ant. XIII. ix. 1, but only for a time. They still continue to sacrifice thrice in the year, on the great feasts, by night, amid the ruins of Mount Gerizim. The writer arrived

at Nablouse on the very night of their feast of Pentecost, in 1842, but did not learn the fact until it was too late to be present at their worship.

⁴ Procopius de *Edificiis Justiniani*, Lib. v. cap. vii.

⁵ Daniel vii. 6.

their vessels had hardened into a road to afford a passage to their countless hosts.

The defeat of Darius in the battle of Issus transferred his vast kingdom to the youthful conqueror, who forthwith proceeded to reduce those strong-holds on the confines of his new dominions, which had either hitherto maintained their independence, or were disposed still to adhere to the fallen fortunes of their old masters. It was to be expected that the inhabitants of Jerusalem would be found among the latter, considering how deeply they were indebted to the Persian monarchs; nor was it strange that this fidelity should provoke the resentment of the Macedonian. Having reduced Tyre, he marched down the coast to the southernmost extremity of Palestine, to secure the important maritime city of Gaza, and then hastened to Jerusalem, to experience the first check which his victorious career had known¹.

In approaching Jerusalem from the south, the traveller obtains the first view of its walls from the convent of Elias, at about a league distance, the plain of Rephaim being interposed. The old road, which is still to be traced, passed near the village of Beit-Sufâfa, the Sapha of Josephus, where Alexander encountered a host arrayed in other arms than he was accustomed to match; the whole multitude of the Jewish people, clothed in white with garlands in their hands,—the priests in their sacred vestments of fine linen, headed by the high priest, arrayed in his robes of purple and scarlet, and the mitre with the golden plate engraven with the incommunicable name of the God of Israel:—the conqueror of the world acknowledged its triumphant power, the righteous nation experienced its saving virtue: he adored that name, saluted the representative of the Most

¹ Josephus, xi. viii.

High, and promised his protection to the Holy City, where his presence dwelt. Then proceeding, as in a festive procession, he entered the sacred precincts of the temple to offer sacrifices to the power which had subdued him, and to listen to his own history dictated by the prophetic spirit two centuries before his birth. Awed, or perhaps flattered, by the omen, he accorded to the worshippers of this strange God such privileges as they requested,—permission for themselves and their dispersed brethren to worship the God of their fathers, and release from tribute on the sabbatical year.

Josephus, who is the sole authority for this interesting narration, accounts for the successful policy of the high priest, Jaddua, by a vision which he had seen when reduced almost to despair at the prospect of the impending ruin, and for the conduct of Alexander, by the remembrance of a prophetic dream while he was still in Macedonia. It is unfortunate that the silence of Arrian, and other heathen historians of the exploits of Alexander, affords what is considered a reasonable ground for scepticism², in a story which has nothing incredible even in the supernatural circumstances, if we allow that the Jews were under the special protection of the Almighty; the discrepancies of which may be surely accounted for, by some means short of supposing it altogether an invention of the Jewish historian, who had access to contemporary records which have since been lost, and whose national predilections would invest this event with more interest than it would wear in the eyes of the panegyrists of the Macedonian monarch, who might regard

² Mitford's remark that Dr Hales' "attempts to overbear the objections" to which the former is disposed to allow full force, shews that he was "highly desirous that the story should

have credit;"—and what then? Who but a pagan would not desire it? See *Hist. of Greece*, XLVIII. sect. iv. near the end.

this humiliation as unworthy of their hero, as indeed those who witnessed it are said to have done, so as to have imputed it to temporary derangement.

Thus much at least is certain, that the Jews from the time of Alexander, and under his successors for many years, were treated with much greater consideration than would have been expected, considering their political insignificance, and the exclusive character of their institutions, which would be far from recommending them to their new masters.

Ptolemy Soter, indeed, to whom Judæa fell after the death of Alexander¹, is said to have seized on the city by treachery, and to have ruled over it with violence; but when he had carried away many of the inhabitants to Egypt, he there conferred on them such distinctions and privileges as induced many of their brethren voluntarily to offer him their services for those offices of trust to which he appointed them, in consideration, as is said, of their tried fidelity to the Persian kings, of which he had experience after the battle of Issus: and in the encomium on Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, who flourished during this reign, we are told how “he fortified the temple, and built the high fortress of the wall about it, and fortified the city against besieging²,”—a great privilege surely to be allowed to a vanquished nation.

But the liberality of Ptolemy Philadelphus went much beyond this, for he not only redeemed all the Jews who were in captivity in Egypt, by a large grant from his treasury, but further sent to the temple at Jerusalem magnificent presents for the sacred service, consisting of vessels of gold, a costly table for the shew-bread, and a considerable sum of money for sacrifices and other purposes.

¹ Joseph. Ant. XII. i. &c.

² Eccius. I. 1, 2.

Nor were the Seleucidæ of Asia behind the Ptolemies of Egypt in their favours to this people: Nicator allowed them equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks, not only in the new cities which he built within his dominions, but in the very capital itself, and granted them other immunities, which continued even under the Roman emperors: and although their country could not but suffer severely from the political revolutions to which it was exposed by the struggles between two conflicting powers, yet had they no cause to regret their old masters during the time that they were subject to the domination of Antiochus the Great. For, to adopt the simile of the Jewish historian, who compares the nation at this period to a ship in a storm, tossed by waves on either side,—those who were at the helm of affairs at Jerusalem seem to have understood well how to direct the vessel through the dangerous sea, and to trim their sails so as to catch the breath of royal favour whether from the north or the south.

Judæa, which had been seized by Antiochus during the reign of Philopater, was recovered to Egypt by Siopas, the general of Epiphanes, the son and successor of Philopater. On this occasion, the Jews averted the vengeance of the conqueror by a voluntary surrender, and with no worse grace passed over again to Antiochus on the revival of his broken fortunes, and by their hospitable entertainment of his army, and the assistance which they rendered him in ejecting the Egyptian garrison from the citadel in Jerusalem, merited his favour, and were liberally requited for their services by his permission to re-edify their temple and city, and a considerable grant from his treasury to enable them to do so. And because the city had been much depopulated by the late calamities, he granted freedom to those families which had been carried away, and

remitted for three years the taxes to all its inhabitants, in order to induce them to return and settle in their old capital. He even went so far as to grant, not merely a toleration, but a full recognition of their national worship in a manner that no heathen king had done before. The precincts of the temple were declared inviolable by royal edict, and guarded from the approach of all but the true worshippers; and the pollution of the Holy City by any ceremonial defilement was prohibited, under heavy penalties, payable to the high priest.

Shortly after this, Judæa, with the neighbouring provinces, were ceded to Egypt, by Antiochus, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, whom he gave in marriage to Ptolemy Euergetes, during whose reign a cloud gathered over Jerusalem, which was dissipated by the skilful management of a member of the priestly family. This passage of history is interesting as explaining the financial management of the country in those times, which was continued also under the Roman domination, and it is the very same system which is at this day impoverishing both the government and the subjects of that part of the Turkish empire.

Onias, the son of Simon the Just, who had succeeded his uncle Manasseh in the high priesthood, was a person of a sordid disposition, whose love of money induced him to withhold the tax of twenty silver talents, which it had been customary for his predecessors to pay to the royal treasury. Euergetes sent to demand payment with a threat, that if it were withheld he would seize the land and colonize it with soldiers. The Jews were much alarmed, but Onias was as little disposed as ever to satisfy the demand. At this conjuncture appeared a spirited young man, named Joseph, maternal nephew of the high priest, who having reproved his uncle for his reckless selfishness, offered to

go as ambassador to Egypt to pacify the resentment of the indignant monarch. Onias accepted the proposal with indifference, the people with the liveliest gratitude, and the youthful diplomatist set forth on his mission, having secured the good services of the Egyptian ambassador by his attentions at Jerusalem, and effected a loan from some Samaritan friends for the purposes of his embassy.

It was the practice of the government to farm out the revenues, by the year, to the principal inhabitants of the various cities of Syria and Palestine, and Joseph travelled to Egypt in the company of some of the public farmers on their way to the annual auction at Alexandria. The scanty retinue of the young Jew, and his mean appearance, was a subject of merriment to these haughty rulers, who having no cause to fear him as a rival, probably spoke of their affairs more freely than was prudent in his hearing. If these public farmers were not more honest than those who at present administer the revenues of Palestine, it may be safely concluded, that scarcely a tithe of the revenues which they collected found its way into the royal treasury; and there was a mutual understanding among them to screen one another in this iniquitous traffic.

On the day appointed for the sale, the highest sum bid for the taxes of Cælosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria and Judæa, was eight thousand talents. Joseph, having made the best use of his time in Egypt in ingratiating himself with the king and queen, through the mediation of their favourite minister, Athenion, whom he had entertained at Jerusalem, had already averted the royal resentment from his countrymen, and he now availed himself of his position to confer on them another benefit. He accused the public farmers of a combination to defraud the treasury by depreciating the revenue, and himself offered double the sum at

which they then stood. Being asked for his securities, he named the king and his royal consort. His pleasantry suiting the king's humour, he was actually confirmed in the appointment, and provided with a military force to aid him in the collection of the taxes, which he administered for two and twenty years, in his own and the neighbouring countries, to the entire satisfaction of his employers, the great relief of the Jews, and to his own aggrandizement.

The latter part of his life was embittered by the jealousies of his children, which after his death distracted and divided this people, while dissensions, which arose at the same time relative to the high priesthood, further excited the bad passions of the multitude, and called for the correction of Divine chastisement, which came in a terrible form.

Onias, the son of Simon the Just, died about the same time as his nephew Joseph, and was succeeded, during the minority of his son, by his brother Jesus, who was removed from the dignity by the king of Egypt, and a third son of Simon, also named Onias, substituted in his room.

The deprived Jesus, who was also surnamed Jason, now raised a party against his brother Onias or Menelaus, whose faction being outnumbered by that of his rival, retired to Antioch, where they met a favourable reception from Antiochus Epiphanes, who would no doubt regard them as useful instruments for the accomplishment of his ambitious projects¹. They, on their part, entered with all readiness into the alliance, renounced the religion of their ancestors, and proposed to build a Gymnasium in Jerusalem. The consequence of

¹ Here the first book of Maccabees takes up the narrative, and confirms Josephus, who seems to have consulted

it throughout the period which it comprehends.

these proceedings was soon apparent. The Syrian monarch, when he advanced upon the city after his retreat from Egypt, forced upon him by the intervention of the Romans, who now appear for the first time on the stage of Oriental diplomacy, found within a powerful and influential party, prepared to second his views, even at the sacrifice of their national institutions, which they had already abandoned; and they now opened the gates of the city to the worst enemy they had ever encountered. At this time however he satisfied himself with the sacrifice of several of the opposite faction, and the seizure of considerable booty, which he carried off to Antioch.

It was not until two years after, that this terrible scourge was let loose for the execution of the Divine judgments and the correction of abuses in the Jewish nation. Marching on Jerusalem under the pretext of peace, he possessed himself without difficulty of the city, and then commenced an indiscriminate massacre of friends and foes. The temple was stripped of its costly ornaments, not even the vails were spared; the palaces were burned, the city-walls demolished, and a strongly fortified citadel erected on an eminence commanding the temple, and garrisoned with apostate Jews and Macedonian soldiers. These calamities would have been tolerable to the Jews—their ancestors had suffered the same—but the profanation which followed was so worthy of a Jewish Julian, that we are forced to conclude that the studied barbarity of it was suggested by a renegade.

On an idol-altar, raised on the very altar of the Lord, the abomination of the pious Israelite was offered up; and daily sacrifices of swine were ordered to be observed in temples of idol-worship, to be erected in every city and village throughout the Holy Land.

The practice of circumcision was prohibited, and frightful

examples were made of those courageous mothers who dared to disobey the impious decree; the reading of the law and the observance of all other religious duties were forbidden, under the severest penalties; while the destruction of the sacred books threatened to bring the precepts themselves into oblivion. The greater part of the nation yielded to the severe temptation, and fell from their allegiance to their fathers' God, but many continued steadfast, resolved to part with their lives rather than abandon that which was infinitely more precious. The sufferings of these righteous souls were protracted by the ingenuity of their executioners; and the description of multiform torture given by the apostle to the Hebrews seems to be drawn from the history of these worthies—illustrious examples of the power of faith under the old dispensation¹.

But this wonderful nation was true to its type²—"burning with fire, and not consumed"—under this visitation also. "When Israel is in the brick-kiln then cometh Moses³." This characteristic proverb was illustrated in this case, and the triumphant Psalm of David was to be sung with a deeper intensity of meaning by this generation. "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say: many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me. The plowers plowed upon my back: they made long their furrows. The Lord is righteous: He hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked⁴."

The instruments ordained by God for this deliverance were the priestly family of Mattathias, the son of Simeon,

¹ See Hebrews xi. 35, &c.

² See Exodus iii. 2, and the beautiful commentary on it in the "Chris-

tian Year," 5th Sunday in Lent.

³ Jewish Proverb.

⁴ Psalm cxxix.

the son of Asamoneus, by whose name they are designated by Josephus, being better known in the Christian church by the appellation of "the Maccabees," a name of doubtful origin⁵. Mattathias was a citizen of Jerusalem, but resided with his five sons at a place called Modin, which appears to have been situated on a conspicuous eminence, where the mountain-region of Judæa descends to the great western plain of Sharon, and at no great distance from Lydda⁶.

His indignation was aroused by the visit of the government officer, charged with the execution of the penal laws against the Jews. Being required to sacrifice as the royal edict directed, he not only refused to do so, but took summary vengeance on a fellow-citizen who apostatized in his presence, and put to death the officer and some of the soldiers. This was a signal for revolt; the family retired at once to the desert, where they were joined by many of their countrymen with their wives and children, who were compelled to take up their abode "in dens and caves of the earth."

It is instructive to remark how far the principle of obedience to their heathen lords was carried by the Jews,

⁵ I am quite satisfied with the Rabbinical derivation from the initial letters of Exodus xv. 11: **מִי כְּמֹכָה בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה** "Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord?"

Reland proposes **מִקֵּב** the final letters of the names of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But this supposes that the Asmoneans were of the tribe of Dan, who are said to have carried this on their standard; all which is uncertain.

⁶ Some modern travellers have found Modin in the hill Soba, near Kuryat el Anub, about two hours from Jerusalem. But this is contrary to Eusebius, in whose days the tomb of the Maccabees was still standing. He places it near to Lydda (Onomast). It must have been nearer to the sea than Soba, or the pyramids could not have served as a beacon to mariners. (Ant. XIII. vi. 6). 1 Maccab. xvi. 4, &c., seems to place it a day's march from Jerusalem, and near the plain.

after their return from the captivity, and where the limit of submission was drawn. It has been already remarked, that the prophets who denounced the judgments of God on their countrymen, for their delay in rebuilding the temple, were far from encouraging them in opposition to the edict of the Persian king, for a decree had been enacted which was irreversible, not only allowing, but making ample provision for the work; and the Jews were guilty of most culpable negligence in making no effort to procure its enforcement. The temple being finished, they would not proceed to the fortification of the city, until new powers had been granted; and in the same spirit they seem to have acted, in obedience no doubt to prophetic instruction, under the Persian and Macedonian domination; desiring only the free exercise of their religion, and submitting to any other inconveniences which a state of submission involved.

But when the liberty of their worship was violated, the observance of the law prohibited, idolatrous observances required and enforced, they had no alternative left but an appeal to arms, in support of their character as God's chosen people, and God blessed them in their national resistance. The precept of passive resistance—teaching “obedience, and suffering where we cannot obey,” is a precept of Him whose kingdom is not of this world; whereas the lower economy that preceded, sanctioned, if it did not even command, the use of carnal weapons, for the extirpation of idolatry and the establishment or defence of the true faith. Yet the fugitives, when they retired to the desert, seem not to have contemplated a systematic revolt from the Macedonian yoke, intolerable as it was; this course was forced upon them by the measures of their adversaries.

But of the exploits of these noble champions, during the protracted struggle for the law of their God, such only

can be noticed as relate to the recovery of the capital and the re-establishment of the temple services. This was effected by Judas, the third son of Mattathias, after a series of successes against the superior forces of the Syrian king, who spared no pains to reduce the country to subjection. The command of the Jewish forces had been committed to him by his dying father, twelve months after the outbreak of the revolt, and the perfect unanimity among the brothers of this devoted family is a token that the high principle by which they were actuated furnished a bond of union more powerful than those of friendship and of blood. His valour, directed by the prudent counsel of his second brother Simon, had already suppressed the idolatrous practices in many parts of the land, and the terror of his arms, which were directed with unsparing rigour against his apostate countrymen, more than counterbalanced the dread of foreign vengeance; but nothing was effected in their estimation until the temple had been purified from its pollutions, and the daily sacrifice restored. This measure was no sooner resolved on than executed. He allowed no time to be wasted in useless lamentations over the sad spectacle of desolation which awaited them in the hallowed precincts. Having appointed a detachment to occupy the garrison in the citadel, that they might not interfere with the work of restoration, he vigorously set his hand to the pious labour; and exactly three years after the interruption of the service, the lamps lighted in the candlestick, incense smoking on the altar of incense, the shew-bread set in order on the table, and the sacrifices burning on an altar of unhewn stones, declared the restoration of the temple-worship, and rewarded the zealous loyalty of the warrior-band. An annual commemoration of this day was appointed, and the feast of dedication was honoured by our Saviour himself

in the days of his flesh¹, and is still observed in the Synagogue as the Feast of Lights.

The next care of Judas was to rebuild the city-walls, which he further strengthened with towers, and to fortify a strong position on the borders of Idumea, which might serve, not only as a protection to the frontier, but also as a place of refuge in the event of another expulsion from the city.

The restoration of the Jews to a state of independence was a signal for a general assault of their inveterate enemies on all sides, and the tabernacles of the Edomites and the Ishmaelites, the Moabites and the Hagarenes, the Philistians, with them of Tyre, were again confederate against the chosen people. But the God of Abraham was among them still as the Lord of hosts, and his presence secured them the victory. The Idumeans and the Amorites, in the south, had been already vanquished, when Judas learnt that the northern division of the country was endangered by the inhabitants of the coast, and that large hostile forces of the Arabians were assembled in Gilead.

Having detached his brother Simon to prosecute the war in Galilee, he crossed the Jordan with Jonathan, leaving Judæa in charge to two of his officers, directing them on no account to hazard an engagement during his absence. The neglect of this salutary counsel involved them in a defeat, attended with considerable loss, while the valiant brothers were entirely successful in their respective expeditions, and Judas returned in time to repair the damage occasioned by the rashness of his generals.

But the presence of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel contiguous to the temple, was a constant source of

¹ John x. 22.

annoyance to the worshippers at Jerusalem, and Judas now resolved to direct all his efforts to its expulsion; he accordingly formed the siege of the castle, and erected bulwarks and engines of war against it. The renegades, who had good reason to apprehend the vengeance of their injured countrymen, should they become masters of the place, effected their escape by night, and flying to Antioch, represented the dangerous position of the small force at Jerusalem.

Eupator had now succeeded his father Epiphanes, who had died a death of dreadful torment, while contemplating, in Persia, a repetition of the atrocities which he had committed on the Jews; and the Christian will feel little difficulty in choosing between the account of the Jewish writer, who ascribes the visitation to the slow but certain vengeance of that Majesty which had there been violated, and the heathen historian, who refers it to the sacrilege on the temple of Diana which he was then meditating. Incensed at the intelligence communicated by the fugitives, the young king raised a large army—consisting, according to the Jewish account, of 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 elephants—for the subjugation of Judæa. After an engagement, which cost Judas the life of his brother Eleazar, who perished in a deed of heroic daring, he retired to Jerusalem, and defended himself in the temple, where he was attacked by the enemy and reduced to the last extremity, by the failure of his stores and the consequent desertion of many of his followers. At this critical juncture intelligence was brought to Eupator, that a formidable rival, who had risen in Persia, was threatening his throne at Antioch, and he was compelled to conclude a peace with the Jews on most advantageous terms to the latter. He demolished, however, the fortifications of the temple, and carried away

Menelaus the author of all the calamities which had befallen the Jews, among whom he had exercised the office of high priest for the last ten years. He was subsequently put to death; and the dignity was conferred by the Syrian general on Alcimus, a member of another family, while Onias, the rightful successor, took refuge in Egypt, where he procured permission to build a temple at Heliopolis, which attained considerable celebrity.

But the Jews were not destined long to enjoy the peaceful fruits of the liberty for which they had so nobly struggled. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Soter, who had been deprived of his throne, by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes, having returned from Rome to Syria, succeeded in wresting the kingdom out of the hands of his cousin Eupator, soon after the latter had obtained the mastery of his rival, Philip. At the instigation of Alcimus and other renegade Jews, he lost no time in sending his general Bacchides, and subsequently Nicanor, to curb the growing power of Judas. Neither fraud nor force were spared for the accomplishment of this design; but the watchful providence of God enabled his servants to guard against both. The blasphemy of Nicanor was visited by a signal defeat, in which he lost his life, and Alcimus was suddenly smitten by God while meditating innovations in the temple at Jerusalem, and died soon after, when the high-priesthood was conferred on Judas by the election of the people, and the command of the army devolved on his brother Simon¹.

The short interval of peace which followed on the route

¹ The death of Alcimus and election of Judas to the high priesthood is related by Josephus, but there is no notice whatever of it in the Maccabees, which records the death of Alcimus

after that of Judas; but as Josephus seems to have had the authority of the public documents preserved in the archives at Rome, he was probably better informed on this point.

of Nicanor's army, was seized on by Judas to form an alliance which might hereafter be advantageous to his country. The Romans, who had been for some years extending their influence in the East, would naturally be averse to the proceedings of Demetrius, which were so opposed to their policy, that they had twice rejected his petition to be restored to his father's throne. His escape from Rome, and his successes in Syria, must have incensed his masters greatly, and prepared them to entertain with favour the offer of alliance with a nation in open hostility to him. But the treaty was of little present advantage to the Jews, who were left to their own resources, when their country was again invaded by Bacchides with a numerous host. The warrior-priest exchanged the tiara for the helmet, and marched to confront his old enemy, whom he engaged with very unequal forces. On the first assault he completely routed the right wing of the enemy, but pursuing his advantage too hotly, he was surrounded by the unbroken left wing, and after a valiant defence, fell, with many of his followers. His dead body was given up to his brothers, and honourably buried at Modin, where a stately sepulchre was afterwards erected, which was still to be seen in the fourth century of the Christian era.

In the incessant struggles which agitated Syria during the long and dubious contentions of the various aspirants for the throne of that country, the aid of the warrior-princes of the house of Mattathias could not but be eagerly sought by the rival parties, and large bribes were offered in the form of immunities from taxes and other civil and religious privileges, to attach them to their opposite interests². It would be difficult for a politician to ascertain

² Ant. XIII. i. &c.

by what principle the Jewish leaders were governed in their conduct to their different suitors; but perhaps not difficult for a diplomatist to justify such inconsistency as was necessary to keep them in favour with the dominant party, as fortune shifted from one side to the other.

The successes of Jonathan, who succeeded his brother Judas in the high-priesthood and supreme command, were very brilliant in many campaigns; and he was highly honoured by the pretender Alexander Bala, and his father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometor, the king of Egypt. On the death of Alexander, he conferred singular services on Demetrius, and was rewarded with base ingratitude instead of the princely honours which had been promised. At length, during the ascendancy of the son of Alexander, or rather of his general Trypho, who used his sovereign as a stepping-stone to his own exaltation, he was taken prisoner by treachery, and basely murdered.

His brother Simon succeeded as high priest and commander-in-chief, and for him it was reserved to reap the fruits of all the deeds of noble daring exhibited by his heroic family. He freed his people altogether from the Macedonian yoke after they had worn it for 170 years, and was written in the contracts and public records, "Benefactor and Ethnarch of the Jews." One signal service of immense importance was, the reduction of the garrison in the tower at Jerusalem, which had been a thorn in the side of the Jews since its erection by Antiochus Epiphanes. Occupying a commanding position on the very mountain of the temple, the worshippers were perpetually exposed to their observation, or even to interruption, and very persevering had been the efforts of Judas and Jonathan to dispossess their enemies of this post, which served as a rallying place for their discomfited legions. Failing to

accomplish this, Jonathan had converted the siege into a blockade, by building a wall in the midst of the city to shut off the garrison from the market, so as to reduce them by famine. The same plan was pursued by Simon, with better success, and the garrison was forced to capitulate¹. The account given by Josephus of the proceedings of Simon on the evacuation of this fortress by the Maccadonians, is singularly at variance with that of the author of the first book of Maccabees²; the latter relating that it was by him converted into a fortress for the temple, and much strengthened, and afterwards inhabited by himself and his troops, while the former asserts that it was levelled with the ground, and the very mountain on which it stood removed with incredible labour. An attempt will hereafter be made to reconcile these conflicting statements. At present it will be sufficient to remark, that the tower Baris, afterwards called Antonia, soon afterwards occupied nearly the same site, and was probably commenced by Simon, and finished by his son Hyrcanus.

The peace and prosperity enjoyed by the Jews under the mild reign of Simon, is very poetically described in the book of Maccabees, and we seem now first to read the fulfilment of the prophecies relating to their restoration from the Babylonish captivity; for “then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy; for every man sat under his vine and fig-tree, and there was none

¹ 1 Mac. xiii. 49, &c. Comp. Josephus, Ant. xiii. vi. 7.

² Ibid.

to fray them¹." These halcyon days he sought to perpetuate by renewing the alliances with the Romans and Lacedæmonians which his brothers had formed, and by strengthening the defences of the temple, the city, and the country, which they had not neglected: and though his latter days were disturbed by another invasion from Syria, yet through his own vigour, which was noway abated, and that of his sons, he defeated his enemies, and returned covered with laurels to Jerusalem². But none of the sons of Mattathias were to be allowed a tranquil end; he was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy at a feast at Jericho, where his wife and two of his children fell into the assassin's hands.

John, surnamed Hyrcanus, his third son, was happily not present; he was informed of a plot against his life, and effected his escape to Jerusalem, where being appointed to succeed his father, he sought to avenge the treachery of Ptolemy, and besieged him in a fortress, to which he had retired. Here the vengeance threatened to his relatives, and the cruel tortures inflicted on his mother in his sight, while with heroic firmness she exhorted him to the attack, shook his courage. His heart failed him, and the siege was protracted until the Sabbatic year led him to abandon it. Ptolemy then murdered his captives, and fled from the country.

Hyrcanus was scarcely settled in his principality, when the king of Syria, indignant at the defeat of his general, marched in person against him, and after ravaging the country, shut him up in Jerusalem, which he then surrounded with seven encampments, but was at first deterred

¹ 1 Maccab. xiv. 8, &c.

² 1 Maccab. xv. xvi. Josephus

only relates that Simon himself marched in person against them, vii. 3.

from an assault by the strength of the walls. We read on this occasion that the enemy, as usual during a siege, suffered greatly from drought, although they were at last relieved by a seasonable shower¹; while we never read of the besieged being in want of water, often as they have been reduced to extremity by famine. The northern quarter of the city was the weakest point in its fortifications, owing to the wall standing here on even ground², and here Antiochus cut a double trench, deep and wide, and erected a hundred lofty towers to force the wall. The besieged meanwhile were not idle; they made many spirited sallies, and fell upon their unguarded enemies, and having killed many, retired within their walls in security. The danger of famine at length forced Hyrcanus to the necessity of excluding from the city such as were unfit for war. These wretched beings wandered about between the city walls and the works of the enemy, and many died miserably of famine. The survivors were received again into the city on occasion of the feast of Tabernacles, which afforded a breathing-space in the siege, and led to the ultimate adjustment of a treaty. Hyrcanus had requested a truce of seven days to celebrate the solemnity; he had a generous enemy to deal with, the pious, not the illustrious Antiochus, who not only granted what was asked, but sent in a magnificent sacrifice to do honour to the festival—bulls with gilded horns, an abundance of sweet spices, and cups of gold and silver for the sacred services.

The king of Syria had been recommended by those

¹ This is one of the two notes of astronomical time given by Josephus. This drought and shower occurred at the setting of the Pleiades, which would be, at that period, about February, the

time of the latter rain in Judæa.

² Κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ' ὃ συνέβαιεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, πύργους ἀναστήσας ἑκατὸν τριωρόφους, κ. λ.

about him to destroy the nation, as unsociable and rebellious, but he inclined to the side of mercy, and proposed the following terms; the Jews should deliver up their arms, pay tribute for Joppa and other cities which bordered on Judæa, and receive a garrison into the city. To this last term the Jews, who had had such bitter experience of its effects, would by no means consent, and it was generously dispensed with. The conqueror satisfied himself with breaking down the walls of the city; and having received hostages, among whom was another brother of Hyrcanus, he departed, and soon after lost his life in an unsuccessful expedition in Parthia, on which he was accompanied by his Jewish ally.

From this time the Macedonian princes had but little influence in Judæa, and the valiant exploits of Hyrcanus against the Idumeans, Samaritans, and others, preserved his country in peace during his long reign of thirty-one years, the close of which was marked by his defection from the Pharisaic sect, to which he had been attached through life; a step to which he was provoked by the calumny of one of its members, too lightly visited in the estimation of the injured party, by the body to which he belonged¹. With John Hyrcanus departed the glory of the Asmonean race; it would have been well perhaps, for the nation, had the family become extinct in him.

He left five sons, and was succeeded by the eldest, Aristobulus, who first assumed a kingly diadem. He favoured his second brother, Antigonus, but imprisoned the others, and starved his mother to death. Through the intrigues and calumnies of his wife and others he was

¹ Ant. XIII. x. 6. It forms no part of the plan of this work to enter into the tenets of the Jewish sects, which are so well known. They first

appear in Josephus a little earlier than this, v. 9. In both these passages he refers to the fuller account in the War, Lib. II. viii. 14. See also Ant. XVIII. i. 3.

alienated also from Antigonus, in the guilt of whose assassination, though he was scarcely implicated, yet it affected him very deeply; and an accident by which it was immediately followed struck him with such horror, that he died of remorse after a brief reign of one year.

His widow Salome now released his brothers from prison, and conferred the kingdom on the eldest, Alexander Jannæus, the greater part of whose reign was passed in the camp; and the tide of war again rolled around Judæa, but did not reach to Jerusalem. But one whose hands were stained with a brother's blood, and whose many defeats were less disgraceful than his excesses in the hour of victory, was not popular among his own countrymen; he was publicly insulted while offering sacrifice in the temple on the feast of Tabernacles, and was subsequently engaged for six years in a sanguinary war with his own countrymen, in which no fewer than 50,000 fell a sacrifice to his vengeance. His fury was checked for a time by foreign aid, invited by his subjects, but it was only to break out into more frightful acts of cruelty, by which he earned for himself the name of Thracian. He died after a reign of twenty-seven years, having advised his wife, on his death-bed, to seek reconciliation with the powerful party of the Pharisees, from whom he had been estranged, after his father's example. Alexandra was not slow to profit by his politic counsel, the wisdom of which was soon manifest, in procuring for himself a splendid burial, and a fame much beyond his merits, and for his widow the quiet possession of the kingdom for nine years, notwithstanding the restless ambition of her younger son Aristobulus, while her elder son Hyrcanus administered the priesthood, being a lover of quiet, and little likely to cause her any uneasiness by attempts at political innovations. But such a character as his was al-

together unqualified to cope with the bold spirit of Aristobulus, who aimed to succeed his mother in the kingdom, and the peace-loving Hyrcanus proposed an accommodation on terms satisfactory to both parties¹. He was to retain the priesthood, relinquishing the crown to his younger brother, to whom also he ceded the tower Baris, which he had hitherto occupied. Peace would have been secured on this basis, but for the interference of one whose family is now first introduced on the stage to play a conspicuous part, until the tragic close of this act of the history of Jerusalem.

The father of Antipater, an Idumean by birth, had been appointed prefect of his native country by the Jewish king, Alexander Jannæus, after the conquest of that province, and had administered it during the reign of Alexandra. His son, who was a man of enterprising spirit, enjoyed the friendship of the young Hyrcanus, whose easy surrender of his worldly honours did not suit the ardent temperament of the aspiring stranger. He made it his business to stir up the minds of the most powerful Jews of the dominant faction, and to work on the fears of the gentle Hyrcanus, as though his brother was plotting against his life. He succeeded so well in his plans that he at last prevailed with him to flee for protection to Aretas the king of Arabia, at Petra, whom he had already prepared to act his part in the plot. An invasion of Judæa now followed, and after a disastrous defeat, Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem, and was besieged in the temple, where the priests only held with him, the multitude of the people being warm partizans of Hyrcanus. Civil dissensions are always attended with more animosity than foreign warfare. The

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiv. i. &c.

feast of the Passover occurred during the siege of the temple. The party of Aristobulus requested their countrymen without to supply them with such sacrifices as the law required, offering to pay whatever price they should demand. An exorbitant sum was agreed on, and the money was lowered in baskets from the walls of the temple; the perfidious Jews received the money, but broke their engagement; presenting a striking contrast to the conduct of the heathen king, whose generosity has been lately recorded.

The siege of the temple was raised by command of Scaurus, Pompey's general in Syria, whose services had been purchased by Aristobulus, whose possession of the temple and its treasures disposed the Roman to favour his advances rather than those of Hyrcanus, who had the city to win, and whose case would require more vigorous measures than that of his brother. The Arabians had scarcely retreated when the mighty arbiter of nations himself appeared to settle the dispute of the rival brothers, who, by their ambassadors, pleaded before him at Damascus, without any decisive effect. The crisis was hastened by the intemperate rashness of Aristobulus, who might well mistrust the justice of his cause, and with characteristic precipitation flew to arms. Pompey invaded the country on his march to Arabia, and having extorted a submission from Aristobulus, would have allowed him to retain at least a shadow of power, had not his wounded pride urged him on to fresh acts of hostility. He retired to Jerusalem, and prepared for a second siege.

Terrified however at the advance of the Roman army, he met the general at Jericho, and tendered his submission, and again experienced the forbearance of the conqueror, who detached Gabinius with some soldiers to accompany the

fallen monarch to Jerusalem, in order to receive the money and the city. On their arrival they found the gates shut and the city fortified against them, and Aristobulus had not sufficient influence with his party to induce them to admit them. This was too much for Pompey's equanimity; he imprisoned Aristobulus, and marched his army to Jerusalem. The councils of its inhabitants were divided, the more moderate party advising to open the gates, the more reckless utterly refusing to do so. The former admitted the soldiers into the city and palace; the latter fortified themselves in the temple, and cut off the communications with the city. The Roman general had the benefit of Hyrcanus's counsel, who had been before employed in the same undertaking. The temple was only assailable on the north, the parts on the west being rendered precipitous by the precautions of the besieged. A wall was drawn round the exposed quarter, within which the army was encamped; but in proportion as the temple was by nature more practicable on this quarter, had it been more strongly fortified by art; solid towers and a deep fosse defied the assaults of the legions. With infinite trouble the fosse was filled in, at least enough to allow of the erection of the engines and battering rams, which had been brought from Tyre; and even this would not have been accomplished had not the besieged made a practice of remitting from any defence on the Sabbath, except such as was rendered imperatively necessary by an armed attack of their enemies. When this was understood, the Romans desisted from such assaults on the day of rest, and occupied themselves without molestation in raising the banks and carrying forward the engines.

Meanwhile the sacred services were daily ministered by the priests with the utmost precision, undeterred by any accidents from the stones and other missiles of the

besiegers, until the breach was effected by the fall of one of the principal towers, battered by the powerful engines, and the hallowed precincts carried. Many Jews were slaughtered, others precipitated themselves into the deep valleys, or burnt their houses over them; twelve thousand in all perished.

The conqueror now entered the holy house, and intruded even into the Holy of Holies, but abstained from the rich spoils of the temple, and restored the daily burnt-offerings; and when he had reinstated Hyrcanus into the priestly office, he carried off Aristobulus, with his wife and family, to grace his triumph at Rome.

His elder son however effected his escape on the way, and occupied the arms of Gabinius, the new Roman prefect, in a fruitless attempt to recover his father's kingdom. Judæa was now to all intents a Roman province, and any independence which its princes or its people fancied themselves to possess from this time was purely imaginary, and the crown and sceptre of their future princes toys which the great republic could well afford to leave in their hands, if it made their yoke less galling and more tolerable. At present Gabinius appointed five sanhedrims or councils for the direction of the nation, parted off into so many divisions; and this form could not but be most acceptable to the Jews, as being so conformable to primitive practice; and the wise and merciful policy of the Roman government, satisfied to consult the national prejudices, so far as might be safely done, challenges our admiration.

The restless Aristobulus had not yet relinquished the hopes of recovering his crown. Escaping from Rome he gathered a small army in Judæa, where he was soon taken by the Roman general, and sent back to his bonds in Rome, while his children were allowed to return to their

own country. He was finally released by Julius Cæsar, and died by poison in his native land. His son Alexander was put to death by Pompey's orders soon after. Meanwhile Hyrcanus continued in the exercise of the high priesthood at Jerusalem, aided always by the shrewd Antipater, who was well skilled in such diplomacy as became one in his position. The moderation of his predecessors was not imitated by Crassus, who now succeeded to the command of the eastern provinces. On his visit to Jerusalem, on his Parthian expedition, his cupidity was excited by the costly treasures of the temple, enriched as it was by the pious offerings of devout Jews in all parts of the world. The guardian of the sacred treasures sought to satisfy his avarice and save the temple by a bribe of enormous value, a wedge of gold of the value of nearly a million pounds sterling, which the villain took and then stripped the temple! No marvel that the pious Jews should regard his disasters in Parthia as a signal judgment on his perfidy and sacrilege.

An attempt of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, to injure the position of Hyrcanus and Antipater in the estimation of Cæsar, resulted, through the tact of the latter, in the renewal of all their powers, and permission to repair the breaches made by Pompey. On his return to Jerusalem he appointed his eldest son Phasælus to the government of Jerusalem, and Herod to the more distant district of Galilee. Here the enterprising spirit of this remarkable man began to display itself in his first public command. The country had been long infested by formidable banditti, having for their captain one Hezekiah, the terror of whose name had spread throughout the country. The robber-chief and the greater part of his band was taken and slain by Herod, and loud were the praises which this daring exploit called forth

from the peacefully disposed inhabitants of the district: well would it have been had he never, during his long administration, stained his hands with more innocent blood!

The growing power and influence of the family of Antipater had for some time excited the jealousy of the Jewish party at Jerusalem; for although the Idumeans had been forced to adopt the Jewish worship¹, on their conquest by Aristobulus the First, yet they were still regarded as strangers and aliens from the Jewish commonwealth. Antipater and his sons were now charged before Hyrcanus with political unfaithfulness, and Herod especially was accused of having acted contrary to law in putting the bandits to death, without the consent of the sanhedrim. The high priest, not daring to follow his own inclination, which would have led him to disregard these complaints, summoned the youthful offender to answer for his conduct before the council at Jerusalem. He appeared in their chamber in arms, surrounded by his armed followers, backed moreover by the protection of Sextus Cæsar, then president of the province. The timid judges were awed, his accusers dared not appear. One only of all the assembly was above the fear of man, and he spoke boldly out. The members of the sanhedrim, reassured by his boldness, would have pronounced sentence of death, had not Hyrcanus, dreading the wrath of the Roman prefect, adjourned the proceedings, and given the culprit an opportunity of flight. Smarting under this insult, and strengthened still more by the official appointment of general of the Roman army in Cœlosyria, conferred on him for money by Sextus Cæsar, Herod meditated vengeance on his adversaries at Jerusalem, and actually marched his legions towards the city. His father and brother with difficulty

¹ Ant. XIII. xi. 3.

persuaded him to milder measures, and he desisted from his purpose, thinking it enough at this time to have made a show of his determination to quell the refractory sanhedrim by force.

The murder of Julius Cæsar, and the consequent distractions of the Roman empire, involved Judæa in new troubles, during which the levy of the enormous taxes exacted by Cassius gave to Herod a fresh opportunity of shewing his address, and ingratiating himself in the favour of his new master; so that when his father had been poisoned by the treachery of one Malichas, the leader of the Jewish party, he was able, after a period of dissimulation, to take vengeance on the murderer, and to establish more firmly the authority which he had already acquired. He succeeded also in expelling from the country Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who, having strengthened himself with new alliances, had ventured again to try the fortune of war against his more powerful rival. Returning from this expedition, the conqueror was received with open arms by Hyrcanus, whose granddaughter he had espoused, thereby contracting an alliance with the Asmonean family, which rendered him for a brief season more acceptable to the people; but on the arrival of Mark Antony in Syria, the old complaints were revived, and a large deputation of the most influential Jews waited on the Roman general to prefer their accusations against the detested house of Antipater. The triumvir's judgment had been already purchased by the accused; Phasælus and Herod were declared tetrarchs, the government was confirmed in their hands, and it was only at the intercession of the latter that the lives of their accusers were spared. The representations of a much more numerous deputation, which met Mark Antony at Tyre, experienced a like reception, and on this occasion

some of the number paid the penalty of their persevering persecution with their blood.

But a terrible reverse of fortune was now at hand, a season of severe trial, which was to form the character of the future king. Antigonus once more appeared in Judæa with a detachment of Parthian troops, who, under the command of Pacorus the king's son and Barzapharnes his general, had invaded and conquered Syria. Herod and his brother were shut up in the palace at Jerusalem, supported by Hyrcanus and his adherents; but the partizans of Antigonus outnumbered the opposite faction, and a formidable army was at hand to second his claims. For some time the Holy City was the scene of confusion and bloodshed, especially when the feast of Pentecost had assembled a multitude from the surrounding country; and the defence of the brothers against such long odds, vigorous as it was, could scarcely have had a successful issue. The dispute however was not to be decided with arms, but, as usual, by treachery. Hyrcanus and Phasælus were prevailed on, much against the better sense of Herod, to go on an embassy to the Parthian commander-in-chief, with a view of negotiating terms. As he had foreseen, they were captured and imprisoned. A nocturnal flight with his betrothed wife, the lovely but unfortunate Mariamne, and his female relatives, under the escort of a small retinue, scarcely saved him from a like fate. His flight was discovered, he was pursued, and overtaken; and so deep was his distress on this occasion, that he was only prevented from committing suicide by the earnest entreaties of those about him. He succeeded however in effecting his escape, and retired first to Massada, a strong fortress on the Dead Sea. Here, leaving the females in safe custody under the protection of his brother

Joseph, he departed to Petra in Arabia, where he met with a less courteous reception than he had anticipated.

Meanwhile the Parthians plundered Jerusalem, Antigonus using his victory with such moderation as might be expected from an unprincipled man who had treasured up in his memory the recollection of long years of misfortune and defeat. Phasælus, condemned to death, sought to prevent the execution by dashing out his brains against his prison-wall. He did not succeed in his attempt, but only fractured his skull. The wretch Antigonus sent his physicians to dress the wound, and ordered them to pour poison into it! The last moments of the unhappy man were consoled by the intelligence of his brother's escape. Hyrcanus was maimed by his nephew, and so disqualified for the priestly office; but his life was spared.

Rejected by Malchus king of Arabia, Herod now resolved on an attempt to repair his shattered fortunes by a personal appearance at Rome. He went to Egypt, and sailed thence for Italy; was shipwrecked at Rhodes, and scarcely escaped with his life, the freight being entirely lost. His success at Rome exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The old friendship which had existed between Octavius and Antipater, who had been companions in arms in Egypt—the remembrance of the costly presents made by the suppliant to Antony in the East, the hatred of Antigonus, and the hope of finding a valuable ally against the Parthians—all conspired to recommend his cause to the favourable consideration of the triumvirs and the senate. Seven days after his arrival he left the shores of Italy, honoured with the title of king, by those who had power to enforce their decrees. He had intended to prefer his suit in behalf of Mariamne's brother Aristobulus, the son

of Alexander, who, as the grandson of Aristobulus on the father's side, and of Hyrcanus by his daughter Alexandra, was the undoubted heir to the dignity; and who would have been the puppet of his crafty brother-in-law, as Hyrcanus had been of Antipater. But now a grander prospect opened before him, he could act undisguisedly in his own name.

Arrived at Ptolemais, the first care of the new king was to enlist an army of mercenaries and march to the relief of Massada, which had hitherto maintained a long siege against Antigonus and his Parthian allies. Strong as the position was¹, and well stored with all kinds of provisions, Joseph had once resolved to abandon its defence, for want of water, when a timely shower filled the cisterns, and enabled him to hold out until his brother's arrival. Having released his family and friends from their confinement, Herod next marched to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp on the west part of the city, hoping by the assistance of the Roman general Silo, who had been instructed to forward his views, to make himself master of the city. But this officer, who had been bribed by Antigonus, got up the appearance of mutiny in his army, and Herod was forced to abandon the siege and place the legions in winter-quarters. But his active spirit could not rest; the robbers in Galilee had again got head, after his removal from that government, and he occupied the interval in chasing them

¹ This site has been lately identified by Dr Robinson, *Bib. Res.* II. 240. It is now called "Sebbeh." The writer only viewed it as Dr Robinson did, from the high cliffs above Ain Jidy, but it was visited in 1842 by Mr Woolcott, whose interesting account of it is published in Dr Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Pt. I. p. 62,

&c. It occupies a position of immense strength on the top of a perpendicular rock, approachable only by a steep and narrow pass, and there not without considerable difficulty. Considerable ruins still remain there. It is situated towards the southern end of the Dead Sea, on its western shore.

from their dens. Then, leaving his brother Joseph to represent him in his kingdom, he marched to his friend Mark Antony, who was now engaged in the siege of Samosata, to prefer his just complaint at the conduct of the Roman officers in Judæa. Their old friendship, and an important service which Herod had the good fortune to render him, ensured his being well received by his faithful ally, and he returned to his kingdom, where he found that his brother had fallen a victim to his own rashness, having been entangled and attacked by the soldiers of Antigonos, and perished with his whole force, consisting of six cohorts of newly-raised recruits. Herod hastened to avenge his brother's death, aggravated by the mutilation of his body by Antigonos, and success attended his arms. He was, however, obliged to wait until the severity of the winter was past, to renew his attempt upon Jerusalem; and meanwhile he lay at Jericho.

As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, he again took the field, and marching to Jerusalem, prepared for the reduction of his capital, three years after his appointment to the kingdom. While the works were in progress he departed to Samaria, where his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been long espoused, was at length consummated. Returning to the city with fresh forces he vigorously pressed the siege, directing his chief efforts against the north quarter of the temple enclosure, as Pompey had done before him; and having the able assistance of the Roman general Sosius, whom Antony had detached for this service. The same vigorous resistance was made by the Jews as on the former occasion, although the scarcity of their provisions (it was a Sabbatical year) reduced them to great distress. The first wall was carried in forty days, the second in fifteen more, and the Romans

were now in possession of the lower city, and of the outer temple. Antigonus was fortified in the royal palace of Baris, and his forces occupied the upper city and the inner court of the sacred inclosure. The former of these was taken by storm, and a frightful massacre ensued, while the rapacious soldiery flew upon the spoil, and were hardly restrained by the remonstrances of Herod, who repeatedly inquired of his ally if the Romans were about to clear the city of money and men, and leave him king of a desert?

Antigonus surrendered at discretion; he was abused and insulted by the Roman general, and afterwards sent in chains to Mark Antony, who put him to death at Antioch, at the solicitation of Herod, with a view to confirm him on his tottering throne. In him the royal line of the Asmoneans ceased, after it had continued for 126 years, and Herod was left in undisputed possession of Judæa.

The dark annals of the sanguinary reign of this splendid monster, whose suspicious jealousy stuck at no inhumanity, would be distressing alike to recite and to peruse¹. That he should wreak his fury on the adverse party was to be expected; worldly policy might plead necessity as a law; but the treacherous murder of the youth Aristobulus, his kinsman, the cruel butchery of the old Hyrcanus—the tried friend of his family, and above all, the ruthless slaughter of the high-spirited Mariamne, whose only crimes were, that she could not submit without a murmur to the murder of her grandfather and brother, and dared to question the tenderness of a husband's love who had twice ordered her immediate execution in the event of his own death;—these acts, not to mention the other innocent victims of the earlier half of his reign, have left a blot upon his character which

¹ Ant. xv.

all his magnificence and the real glory of his public administration cannot for a moment obliterate from the memory. After the battle of Actium, and the death of Antony, he had repaired in person to the conqueror at Rhodes, in whose presence neither his address nor good-fortune forsook him. He honestly avowed his attachment to Mark Antony, his earnest desire to serve him, his conviction that had he followed his advice he would not have succumbed to his rival. Octavius, who could now afford to be generous, was not offended with the candour of the avowal, and Herod was confirmed in his kingdom, whose limits were enlarged by the favour of the conqueror. His vigorous measures having secured the tranquillity of the country, and awed the bordering tribes into submission, he was at leisure to devote his thoughts and his wealth to the adornment of his capital and the erection of cities, whose magnificent ruins testify to this day the costly liberality of Herod the Great; Samaria was converted into Sebaste, and Strato's tower enlarged to Cæsarea, to flatter the pride of his august benefactor; while Herodium, erected on the remarkable hill, now known as Jebel Furdeis or the Frank Mountain, within sight of Jerusalem, served to mark the scene of his victory over Antigonus on the memorable night of his escape from Jerusalem. Neither was his reign unmarked by one proof at least that he had a human heart; and the really affecting account which the historian has left of his thoughtful solicitude and paternal care, not merely in behalf of his own people, but of the neighbouring nation, on occasion of a severe famine, when he opened his granaries and his treasury, and imported corn from Egypt, and fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and succoured the distressed, might well change the disposition of the multitude towards him, and dispose them at least to forget his past barbarities in the benefits which

they were now reaping, and incline them to think that he had been from the beginning, not such an one as they had found him by experience, but such as the care he had taken of them, in supplying their necessities, proved him now to be.

But the introduction of foreign customs and amusements into the Holy City was an unpardonable desecration in the eyes of the zealous Jews, and the impiety of his acts would be aggravated rather than excused by his profession of their worship; a conspiracy against his life was entered into by ten citizens of Jerusalem; they were betrayed and punished with death. But the builder of a theatre and circus, the president at quinquennial games, instituted in honour of a pagan emperor, might well be suspected, when he proposed to rebuild the Jewish temple, and the religious part of the community had good reason to fear a further and more dreadful violation of their national prejudices. But in this, his chief work, he acted with much more consideration than could have been expected, however policy might have taught the inexpediency of further provoking the hostility of his subjects. Neither labour nor expense was spared to render this temple a worthy successor of that which the wealth and wisdom of Solomon had originally erected on the Holy Mount, and the fragments of columns, built into the modern walls of the Harem, in various parts, exhibiting most rare specimens of porphyry and other precious marbles, still testify to the glory of this latter house, which was magnificently adorned within and without, and surrounded with stately cloisters,—of which a further notice will be necessary in a subsequent chapter, as also of the Tower Antonia, at the north-east corner of the outer area, which he had already rebuilt or greatly enlarged during

the life of his friend, by whose name it was designated. The temple was completed in nine years and a half.

But the last days of Herod were to witness a repetition of the terrific acts of its commencement, and family feuds were again to embroil his house in trouble and to embroil his hands with blood¹. The two sons of the murdered Mariamne, who had been educated at Rome, were brought back by their father when age and polite education had perfected them in such graces and accomplishments as they had inherited from their mother. They became the idols of the people. Their popularity excited the envy of Pheronias and Salome, the brother and sister of Herod, who had indeed too just cause to dread their displeasure for the part which they had acted towards the unhappy Mariamne, which her children were too generous not to feel, too frank and noble-minded to conceal; and as the king was now advanced in years, and the accession of the young men to power was probably not far distant, no time was to be lost in getting them out of the way. The alliance of Aristobulus, the elder of the two brothers, to the daughter of Salome, tended in no measure to reconcile her to the child of the woman whom she had so deeply injured, and falsehood and calumny were incessantly plied, until the father's affections were completely estranged from his darling boys. Antipater, a son of Herod by his first wife, was introduced at court, and entered into the evil councils of his designing aunt with all the eagerness of one bent on his own advancement. The counter-influence thus strengthened was too powerful for the two brothers. Being accused before the tribunal of Augustus, as plotting against their

¹ Ant. xvi. i. &c.

father's life, they pleaded their defence with all the simplicity of conscious innocence, were honourably acquitted, and a temporary reconciliation with their father was the result. But on their return to Judæa the attempts of Salome were renewed, and seconded by letters of Antipater, who was now at Rome, and by the treacherous villany of a foreign spy, until the king, worked up to a pitch of phrenzy, was at last not only prepared to believe, but forward to invite accusations, so that the very servants were tortured or bribed to calumniate them. The young men, wearied out with this incessant persecution, resolved to retire from the country, and to seek refuge first with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, and finally at Rome. Their intentions were discovered and represented as an overt act of treason, and Augustus was prevailed upon to allow the victims to be put on trial for their lives, before a Roman court at Berytus. The wretched father here appeared in person as the accuser of his sons, and so ably did he advocate the cause of injustice and inhumanity, with such vehemence and violence did he press the cause against them, that the judges were absolutely prevailed upon to return a sentence of condemnation, and the two brothers were strangled at Sebaste.

Justly might the odium of this deed of blood attach to the villanous Antipater, and most righteous was the vengeance which speedily overtook him². Having removed these rival claimants for his father's crown, nothing now remained but to bring to the grave, no matter how, the hoary head which it now encircled. Herod had cherished a nest of vipers in his own house, and was doomed himself to be the next victim. Salome his sister, Pheronas his brother,

² Ant. xvii. i. &c.

and Antipater his cherished son, conspired together to poison him. The success of this plot was hindered by the death of Pheronas, and an investigation which ensued on the suspicion of his having met a violent death, led to the discovery of the whole of the dark design, in which Antipater had taken part with the most diabolical determination. He was immediately summoned from Rome, where he was now awaiting the explosion of the mine to which he had laid the train, in a letter full of affection, and arrived at Jerusalem without suspecting the cause of his recall. His salutation was repulsed with horror by his indignant father, who now threw off the mask, and on the following day he was put upon his trial before Quintilius Varus, the president of Syria, whom Herod had already called to Jerusalem to act as his assessor on this occasion. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus was counsel for the prosecution, witnesses flocked forward in crowds, judging it a righteous act to expose such monstrous wickedness, the most frightful aggravations of the most complicated schemes of cold-blooded villany came out on the trial, until Herod himself, recreant as he was, stood aghast at enormities exceeding his own, while the perjured wretch, in the face of the clearest evidence, with well-dissembled horror at the imputations, called God to witness his innocence! He was condemned to death, but some delay was necessary until the sentence should be confirmed at Rome.

In this interval king Herod, who had now attained his 70th year, was attacked by that dreadful malady, which terminated his life. But his sun was to set in blood, even as it had risen. Among other adornments of his temple at Jerusalem he had erected a large golden eagle over the principal gate. Two of the most celebrated rabbies, Judas and Matthias, expecting the speedy issue

of his incurable disease, encouraged some of their young pupils to demolish this emblem of idolatry :—a report was soon after raised that the king was dead, and the eagle was instantly destroyed. The report was unfounded. Forty of the young men were apprehended by the temple-guard, and the instigators of the sedition voluntarily surrendered, glorying in the act. The king, maddened by the fury of the disease, tortured with the conviction that his approaching dissolution was most anxiously expected by his subjects, furious at the insult offered to him at almost his last hour, ordered the whole number to be burnt alive¹ ! Meanwhile his body was consuming with an internal fire, and his heart inflamed with the wildest passions. Can it be believed that he had ordered his sister Salome to gather together, and confine in the hippodrome, the principal Jews from all the country, to be slaughtered immediately on his death, that there might be a national mourning at his funeral ? Humanity may rejoice that the sanguinary order was never executed. The last act of his sanguinary reign, when he had failed in an attempt on his own life, was to confirm the order for the execution of his son Antipater. Five days after this he died in extreme agony², in the 37th year of his reign, and was magnificently buried at Herodium : while the frantic cries of the desolate mothers of Bethlehem, mourning for their infants, whose execution he had lately ordered, formed his funeral dirge, and attended his guilty soul into the presence of his Righteous Judge !

A very slight sketch of the interval which elapsed

¹ Here occurs the other note of astronomical time, which seems to have been providentially inserted to mark the time of our Saviour's birth. This execution took place on the night of

the eclipse of the moon. It occurred March 13, four years before the Christian era.

² Compare Matt. ii.

between the death of Herod and the outbreak of the Jewish revolution will suffice for this troubled period of Jerusalem's history. Most of the provisions of the will of Herod, as revised shortly before his dissolution, were confirmed by Augustus, and notwithstanding the most vehement opposition of the Jews, Archelaus his eldest son, by Mathace, the sixth of his ten wives, entered upon the government of half of his father's dominions, including Judæa, which he administered for nine years, with the title of Ethnarch, at the end of which period he was deposed for mal-administration, and banished to Vienne in Gaul. Judæa now became a Roman province, whose affairs were managed by a procurator, under the prefect of Syria, with the power of life and death, while the arrangement of matters of minor importance was committed to the Sanhedrim. Coponius was the first to hold the appointment of procurator, in which he was shortly superseded by Marcus Ambivius, to whom succeeded Annius Rufus, during whose procuratorship Augustus died. The policy of Tiberius, more considerate in this respect than his predecessor, was averse to the frequent change of the provincial governors, and Valerius Gratus continued in the office for eleven years. He was succeeded by Pontius Pilate, on whose banishment Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem in person, as some of his predecessors had done. In the reign of Caligula we find Petronius president of Syria, and Marcellus procurator of Judæa. It was at this time that a commotion arose among the Jews, which aided not a little to inflame the spirit of insubordination towards their Roman masters, which finally involved them in ruin. From the time of Herod's death the country had been in a state of terrible convulsion, and the streets of Jerusalem had again flowed with blood. But the vengeance inflicted by

the Romans on the leaders of the revolt served rather to exasperate than to overawe the obstinate spirit of the Jews. They had seen two thousand of their countrymen barbarously crucified before their eyes¹; they had seen their high priests deposed and set up at the will of pagan generals; they had seen the idolatrous standards, the abomination of desolation, introduced within the walls of the Holy City²; and yet they could flatter themselves with the dream of liberty—"We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man³." But when they learnt that it was the deliberate intention of Caius Caligula to set up an image of himself in the Holy of Holies in their temple at Jerusalem; as soon as horror allowed them utterance, one fierce and unanimous cry echoed from all parts of the world where the Jews were found, invoking death rather than such dreadful desecration⁴. Most happily for them the president of Syria was of a different temperament from their former governor, Pilate; Petronius chose rather to incur the displeasure of his imperial master than set his hand to the barbarous massacre which he saw must take place if he were to attempt to enforce his decree. Happily too, a prince who had inherited some of the Asmonean blood, was in a position to exercise some influence over the tyrant, and Agrippa the son of Aristobulus, and so the grandson of Herod by Mariamne, was chiefly instrumental in reversing the fatal edict.

After a youth of contempt and poverty, Agrippa had come a beggar to Rome, where he was imprisoned for debt by Tiberius, released and promoted to the dignity of tetrarch by Caius, and rewarded for important services to Claudius

¹ J. W. II. v.² Ibid. ix.³ John viii. 33.⁴ Ant. xviii. viii. and J. W. II. x.

by the grant of his grandfather's kingdom, with the addition of another district¹. During a reign of three years he administered the kingdom with much address, and conferred important services on the Jews. It would have been well had he confined himself to such means of securing their approbation as Josephus records².

The chief of these will afford an opportunity of giving a description of Jerusalem, which will be necessary to render intelligible such an account of the siege as is here contemplated, and such topographical notices as will follow in a subsequent part of this work.

Jerusalem, as we have seen, was originally composed of two distinct cities, incorporated by David, and enlarged by Solomon and subsequent kings. It is situated geographically in latitude north $31^{\circ}. 46'. 30''$, and longitude east of Greenwich $35^{\circ}. 12'. 30''$, in the heart of the mountain district, which, commencing to the south of the great plain of Esdraelon, is continued through the whole of Samaria and Judæa, to completely the southern extremity of the promised land. The city occupied two hills, separated by a valley (called by Josephus the Tyropæon) and confined on three sides by two other valleys of considerable depth, (the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the valley of Hinnom), the former of which commencing on the north divided it on the east from the Mount of Olives, while the latter, running down from the west and encircling its southern side, was united to the former at the south-east quarter of the city. Of the two hills covered by the city³, one was much higher than the

¹ J. W. II. xi. 5.

² See Acts xii. 1, &c.

³ I here follow Josephus, J. W. v. iv. The importance of this description will appear in the Second Part, and it is

given in the original in an Appendix, No. 2. The discussion of this and such subjects is reserved for distinct consideration. See Part II. cap. i.



Alexandria, Egypt, 1877

other, and is called the Upper Market, which is Zion, in distinction from the lower city, or Acra. The temple-mount had been a third hill over against Acra, originally separated from it by a wide valley, which however was filled up by the Asmonean princes, so that these two hills had become one, and are generally so reckoned by the historian.

The walls are described as follows: the Hippic tower, which occupied the north-west quarter of Zion, being assumed as a starting point, the first wall skirted the northern brow of Zion, and then crossing the valley of the Tyropæon, was joined to the western wall of the temple, which was completely surrounded by a wall of its own. In the opposite direction it encompassed the hill on the western and southern sides as far as the pool of Siloam, where it again crossed the valley of the Tyropæon, and was continued round the ridge of the temple-mount, here called Ophel, until it joined the extremity of the eastern wall of the temple. From the pool of Siloam there was a wall along the eastern brow of Zion⁴ to meet that which bounded it on the north, so that the upper city was completely surrounded by a wall of its own.

Of the second wall we are only told that it commenced at a place called the Gate of Gennath, a point in the first wall east of Hippicus, and encircling the northern part of the city, was joined to the fortress Antonia, which occupied a considerable space at the north-west of the temple-area. In process of time the population of this part, north

⁴ The important passage of Josephus which declares this is overlooked by Dr Robinson, who only conjectures it, *Bib. Res.* Vol. I, p. 461; but *J. W.* v. vi. 1, Simon is said to have held as much of the old wall as bent from Si-

loam to the east, (i. e. as usual, facing the east) and went down to the palace of Monobazus, which is somewhere identified with Agrippa's palace on Mount Zion, at the causeway. *II. xvi. 3.*

of the temple, had overflowed the limits of the old city, and had occupied a third hill to the north, which is known as Bezetha, or the new city; up to the period which we have now reached the new-built part of the city had been unprotected, and Agrippa liberally determined to add to its security by the erection of a strong wall, which he resolved to extend much further than was now required, to allow for a further increase of population. Commencing then at the Hippic tower, it was extended far to the north, and passing by the monuments of Helena, it reached the upper part of the valley of Jehoshaphat at the Tombs of the Kings, from whence it followed the course of the valley, bending with it at the Fuller's monument, where was a corner tower, until it was joined to the temple-wall at its north-eastern angle¹. This wall was intended by Agrippa, who inherited his grandfather's magnificent ideas, to be a lasting monument of his liberality, and an impregnable defence to the city. It was commenced on an immense scale, and the Jewish historian is of opinion that if it had been completed according to the original design, the city could never have been taken. But a representation was made to Claudius, when the work had made some progress, and its continuance was prohibited. The circumference of the city, as inclosed by this outer wall, was 33 stadia, equal to nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles².

¹ It appears to me very plain that this must be the meaning of Josephus, where he says that it joined the old wall at the valley of Kedron. The old wall, he had before said, joined the eastern cloister at the temple: now he says nothing about the cloisters, but looks upon the temple-wall as a continuation of the old wall, as indeed it

was. The idea of a wall in the valley is both absurd in itself and expressly contrary to Josephus, who says that on such parts of the city as were encompassed with impassable valleys, (and surely the east was, if any) there was but one wall.

² J. W. v. iv. 3. and Bib. Res. i. 467.

On the death of Agrippa Judæa reverted into its former condition of a Roman procuratorship, the emperor considering the king's son of the same name too young to be entrusted with the reins of government, though he afterwards set him over his uncle's kingdom of Chalcis³. During the administration of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander the country remained in comparative tranquillity; but on the succession of Lumanus, the gross licence of the Roman soldiers, encouraged rather than repressed by their commander, again exasperated the Jews, and stirred up the fires of revolt, to which Ummidius Quadratus, the prefect of Syria, added fresh fuel by his unjust and cruel measures, when appealed to by the injured parties.

From this time forward the storm was gathering fast; the aggravated evils of the Jews had become insupportable; they had filled up the measure of their iniquities, and "wrath had come upon them to the uttermost." Torrents of their blood had lately flowed in Egypt and in Chaldæa, their two houses of bondage; now it was to deluge their own land, and to be shed in great part by brothers' hands. While Felix was procurator of Judæa, the first under Nero, there appeared in Jerusalem a secret band of assassins, called Sicarii, who carried on their trade of blood in the open day, in the public streets or in the crowded temple, without detection. Their first victim was Jonathan the high priest, and numbers followed, until the whole city was filled with apprehension and distrust. Besides these there were numberless impostors starting up on all sides, laying claim to Messiahship, or at least to some measure of divine inspiration, and the state of the nation is not unaptly compared to that of a diseased body, in which inflammation is re-

³ J. W. II. xi. 6.

pressed in one quarter only to break forth with greater vehemence in another¹.

Festus succeeded Felix, and was in his turn replaced by Albinus, a worthy predecessor of Gessius Florus, whose proceedings more than any served to hasten the fatal crisis, being so well supported and matched by his superior Cestius Gallus, prefect of Syria, that no complaints against the subordinate officer were for a moment entertained. His sacrilegious attempt to seize upon part of the sacred treasure set Jerusalem in a blaze, which he sought in vain to extinguish in the blood of three thousand six hundred victims². Bernice, the sister of the younger Agrippa, who was now in Jerusalem, interceded for mercy, but to no purpose; a second massacre followed, and then being satiated with blood he retired to Cæsarea, but not before he had succeeded in irritating the people to such a pitch that all prospects of accommodation were from thenceforth utterly hopeless. In vain did Agrippa point out the madness of the attempt to shake off the Roman yoke, and the certainty of the ruin which must ensue; in vain did the more moderate part of the citizens recommend patience and submission; the "dogs of war" were now "let slip," and nothing would restrain them.

The first open act of rebellion was the refusal to offer the usual sacrifices for the emperor³. Then followed an assault on the city, some of the principal buildings of which were destroyed by fire. The chief priests and more peaceful part of the inhabitants had retired to Mount Zion; they were attacked, and the high priest, who had concealed himself in a sewer, was discovered and put to death. The fortress of Antonia was next forced, and the garrison slain.

¹ J. W. II. xiii.

² Ibid. xv. xvi.

³ Ibid. xvii.

The palace of Herod, in the north-west angle of Mount Zion, still remained in the hands of the Romans, strongly fortified on the north by three towers. The garden where the soldiers were encamped was carried, and they retired to the towers; the camp was fired, and the towers besieged. The defenders were forced to capitulate; they laid down their arms, and were inhumanly slaughtered in contravention of the terms, and that on the Sabbath-day! Meanwhile the revolt had spread throughout the country; and the prefect was for a time too fully occupied to march to Jerusalem. At length however he arrived⁴. He pitched his camp on Scopus, seven furlongs from the city, and waited three days in the hope that his appearance might awe the rebels. Then he entered the city, the Jews having abandoned the outer and second wall, when he fired the new, and part of the lower, city. He then advanced against the upper city occupied by the rebels, and encamped before the royal palace of Herod, where was a space unoccupied by buildings, between the outer and second wall. A well-sustained attempt to storm the upper city at this time would probably have been successful, but Providence had ordered it otherwise. After five days he relinquished the attempt, and turned towards the northern part of the temple, from whence he was repulsed by the Jews. Soon after a strange and unaccountable panic seized upon the besieged, and it appeared as if nothing could save the city; when Cestius, without any apparent cause, raised the siege, and commenced a disastrous retreat, which was followed by the reassured Jews, and ended in a complete route.

No time was now lost in putting the city into a complete state of defence, and in forging arms for the war;

⁴ Ibid. xix.

and ample space was allowed for it. It was two years before the Roman army again appeared before their walls. In the interval Vespasian, distinguished for the success of his arms in Germany and in Britain, had been sent by Nero to quell the sedition, and having subjected the district of Galilee and the Decapolis before the end of that reign, had remained inactive at Cæsarea during the brief occupation of the imperial purple by Galba and Otho¹, soon after which the death of Vitellius left the throne vacant for him². His son Titus, to whom he delegated the command, was now at liberty to march at once for the reduction of the capital³. By this time the aspect of the walls was so imposing as to excite the admiration of the Romans⁴. But men, not walls, are the defence of a city, and these nerves of war were weakened as before by internal dissensions, which throughout paralyzed the efforts of the Jews. The city was now divided between two rival factions, under the command of two tyrants, Simon and John; the former supported by 10,000 armed followers, exclusive of 5000 Idumeans, the latter by 8,400, including 2,400 zealots, who had formed a combination with him under their leader Eleazar⁵. Simon was in possession of the upper and lower city, and of the greater part of the wall of Bezetha; John held the temple with its fortress Antonia, the southern part of the temple-mount or Ophel, and apparently the eastern part of the wall of Bezetha.

Titus at first encamped with two legions on Scopus, at the north of the city, placing two more on Mount Olivet, on the east⁶. He next proceeded to clear and level the

¹ J. W. Lib. III. IV.

² Ibid. IV. ix. x.

³ Ibid. v. ii.

⁴ See Tacitus for a description of the walls.

⁵ J. W. v. vi.

⁶ Ibid. v. ii.

ground to the north of the city, in order to facilitate his operations. On a survey of the walls however he resolved to establish his head quarters near the north-west angle of the outer wall, which was fortified by the tower Psephinus⁷. Here he accordingly encamped with one legion from the Scopus, while the other also shifted its quarters to the neighbourhood of the Hippic tower. After some further deliberation he determined to commence his assault on the outer wall, between these two points, at a part which went by a name derived from the monument of John the high priest. The wall in this quarter was not so strongly fortified, owing to this part of the new city being but thinly inhabited, and hence he would find easy access to the third or innermost wall, through which he hoped to take the upper city, which he expected would put him in possession of the lower city, of Antonia, and so of the temple. The wall was gallantly defended by the besieged, and recourse was had on both sides to all the expedients which the art of war had devised. The partizans of the opposite factions even forgot for a while their differences to join in repelling the common foe, and fought side by side on the wall. At length an engine of tremendous power, named Nico by the Jews, formed a breach, which was carried on the fifteenth day of the siege⁸, when the greater part of the wall and northern quarter of the new city was demolished by the Romans.

The Jews were now confined within the limits of the ancient city, while Titus pitched his camp within the third wall, at a place called the Camp of the Assyrians, extending eastward to the brook Kedron. An assault was next made on the second wall, while the besieged, divided into

⁷ Ibid. iii.

⁸ Ibid. vii.

several parties, courageously defended it; John and his faction occupying the tower Antonia, the northern cloisters of the temple, and the part over against the monuments of king Alexander, while Simon's party stood prepared to repulse their assailants from near the monuments of John the high priest, to a gate by which water was brought into the Hippic tower. Desperate sallies were also made by the besieged, in which the Romans sustained some loss. The second wall was taken five days after the first, through a breach at the middle tower of its north quarter; but the Jews availing themselves of the crowded buildings and narrow streets of this part of the lower city, which Titus had neglected to fire, succeeded in driving them out¹. It was re-captured after an obstinate resistance of three days, when the northern part was entirely demolished, and the towers in the southern part garrisoned with troops.

The temple with its strong fortress Antonia and the upper city still held out, but Titus remitted the siege for a while, in the vain hope that the Jews might be prevailed upon to surrender². To this end he sought to inspire them with awe by a review of his soldiers on the northern quarter of the city, which was viewed with admiration by the Jews from the old wall and the northern cloisters of the temple; and such of the houses as commanded the prospect were crowded with spectators. But the die was cast, and neither the terror of the Roman arms nor promises of forgiveness could prevail on them to submit. On the fifth day preparations were commenced for the assault of the Antonia in one quarter and of the upper city in another³. Four banks were raised by the legions, one at the tower Antonia against the middle of a pool named Struthius, a

¹ J. W. v. viii.² Ibid. ix.³ Ibid. xi.

second twenty cubits from it; a third against the northern wall of Zion, at the Amygdalon or Almond Pool; and the fourth thirty cubits from that, at the High Priest's Monument, so often mentioned. Seventeen days were required for this work, although the soldiers toiled incessantly; when, on bringing up their engines to the banks, they discovered that they had been undermined by the besieged at the Antonia, while their assaults on the upper city were repulsed in the most determined manner by the sallies of the Jews under Simon, and a successful attempt was also made to destroy the engines by fire.

A council of war was now held by the Roman general, in which it was determined to blockade the city by a wall⁴, in the hope of reducing it by famine; for up to this time the besieged had been able to receive supplies from without, as only one side of the city was occupied by the enemy. This wall, thirty-nine furlongs in circuit, exclusive of irregularities, was completed in three days! and frightful were the effects on the inhabitants of the devoted city, where famine had already made considerable progress. On the completion of the wall the banks were again raised⁵, and the siege of Antonia pressed with a vigour to which the obstinate resolution of the Jews was at length obliged to yield. As they retired to the inner court of the temple they were pursued with reckless precipitation into the sacred inclosure by one of the Roman soldiers, who after sustaining alone an attack of the infuriated Jews, paid the penalty of his rashness with his life. The fortress Antonia occupied the highest point of the Temple mount⁶, at the north-west angle of the area. Two staircases connected

⁴ J. W. xii.

⁵ Ibid. vi. i.

⁶ See i. 5. in Titus' speech, *κατὰ κορυφὴν εἶναι*.

it with the sacred inclosure at that angle, communicating with the cloisters on the north and west side of the outer court. A night-attack was resolved on, and a division detached for this service, the stairs being too narrow to afford space for the operations of the whole army¹; Titus himself was persuaded by his soldiers to watch the success of the attempt from the fortress, and not to expose his life to danger in this perilous assault. The Jewish guards were on the watch, and a sanguinary fight of eight hours' duration ended in the retreat of the Romans. Meanwhile the unoccupied legions had overthrown the foundations of Antonia to level a way to the temple area; in addition to which, four banks were raised against its outer wall, on the northern and western sides.

The destruction of the temple was now commenced, the Jews firing that angle of the cloisters which united it to the Antonia, with the view to cut off the communication. The work of demolition was carried forward by the Romans, and the western and northern cloisters were reduced to ashes². So massive was the structure of the temple-wall that the powerful battering-rams could make no impression on it, and their attempts to undermine its foundations were equally unsuccessful³. At length however the outer court was carried, and the Jews, after a hard struggle, were shut up in the inner enclosure. An attempt on the part of the Romans to extinguish the fire which was raging around the temple, opposed by the Jews, resulted in its extension to the holy house itself, which Titus was most anxious to spare. Terrible was the carnage that now ensued, but not so terrible to the Jews as this conflagration,—while the surrounding mountains echoed to their

¹ J. W. ii.

² Ibid. iii. 2.

³ Ibid. iv.

shrieks of despair, mingled with the groans of the dying and the shouts of the Roman legions⁴.

Such of the Jews of John's party as could effect their escape now retired to the upper city, still held by the faction of Simon, while others took refuge on the cloisters which remained unconsumed. The Roman eagles were brought within the sacred precincts, and sacrifices offered before them; when the general was saluted with the title of Imperator⁵.

The approach to the southernmost of the four gates which gave entrance to the outer temple on its western side was by a causeway⁶, carried across the deep valley of the Tyropæon to the royal palace of the Asmoneans' on Mount Zion, once occupied by the younger Agrippa⁷, as also by his father before him⁸. This causeway, by which John and the remnant of his partizans had escaped from the temple to the upper city, was joined at its western termination to a public building called the Xystus, situated below the palace, and commanded by it⁹.

The tyrants, who seemed now convinced that ruin was inevitable, or at least that all further opposition must be unavailing, requested a conference, which was granted by the Roman general, in the same spirit of forbearance which, according to Josephus, had distinguished his conduct throughout the siege; although it must be confessed that there are many passages which seem utterly irreconcilable with this favourable representation of the politic historian. The Jews were drawn up around Simon and John at one extremity of this bridge, the Romans around Titus at the other, with

⁴ Ibid. v.

⁵ Ibid. vi.

⁶ Ant. xv. xi. 5.

⁷ J. W. II. xvi. 3.

⁸ Ant. xx. viii. 11.

J. W. sup. ut.

Josephus to act as interpreter: and the parley began¹. After addressing them in terms of invective and reproach for their rebellion and obstinacy, and in commendation of his own unmerited lenity up to this point, the conqueror promised them, that on conditions of their laying down their arms and surrendering without further opposition, their lives should be spared. The terms were perhaps more merciful than they had any right to expect at this period, but they failed to satisfy the besieged. They had the assurance to require a free exit through the Roman works for themselves, their wives, and families, with their arms in their hand! This presumptuous demand sealed their doom, and they were given to understand that the time for mercy was past, they were now to look for nothing but a most terrible vengeance.

The Roman soldiers were then commanded to destroy the devoted city; and on the day following the northern part of the lower city was consumed with fire, including the repository of the archives, the council-chamber, and the palace of queen Helena, in the middle of Acra.

The occupation of the temple had put them into possession of the whole of that mount, and of the remainder of the Tyropæon, south of the causeway, as far as the pool of Siloam. On the second day this also was burnt², and the banks began now to be raised against the upper city³.

It has been seen that this was completely encompassed by a wall of its own, and surrounded by the natural defence of deep valleys on three sides, while the fourth presented a cliff of thirty cubits in height, along the summit of which the wall was carried. The works were raised with great difficulty, owing both to the scarcity of materials,

¹ J. W. vi. vi. 2, &c.

² Ibid. vi. vii. 2.

³ Ibid. viii. 1.

and these natural and artificial defences against which they were directed; but in eighteen days they were sufficiently advanced for the engines to be brought up. They were erected on the western and eastern sides of the upper city; the former over against the palace of Herod, which occupied the north-west angle; the latter from the Xystus to the bridge, below the palace of Agrippa, which stood at the north-east angle. Meanwhile dissension and discord reigned among the surviving Jews⁴, their arms were still turned against each other; and, as though the Romans had not been sufficiently active in the work of destruction without, they made it their business to carry fire and sword through that part of the city which still continued in their hands. They then retired to the royal palace of Herod, whose three massive towers they trusted would afford them a refuge still, even after the capture of the upper city, while others concealed themselves in the large subterranean caves and vaults in which they vainly hoped to lie hid until the victorious army was withdrawn⁵. At length the western wall yielded to the unwearied shock of the engines, scarcely resisted by the besieged, and the Romans entered the upper city, when the panic-stricken Jews abandoned the defence of the impregnable towers without a blow, and the victorious eagles waved over their battlements. The dreadful havoc was now repeated throughout the length and breadth of Zion, and the conflagration was extinguished by the blood of the slaughtered thousands! But the oft-repeated horrors of this most dreadful tragedy have been designedly passed over almost without notice, nor will they here be entered on. The annals of history furnish nothing that will bear the slightest comparison with this frightful siege, and one

⁴ Ibid. vii.⁵ Ibid. and viii.

marvels that a Jew could have the nerve to pen records, the very perusal of which is sufficient to sicken the heart and make the blood run cold. Suffice it here to say that not one of all the terrible curses on disobedience denounced in the law—no, not the worst of all, was spared¹; that 1,100,000 are calculated to have perished by famine or the chances of war during the siege²; and besides 40,000 of the population of this city, whom Titus allowed to go free³, 97,000 were carried captive during the war. The whole number of those who were killed or taken in the city itself can scarcely be computed at less than 2,000,000; and if this number should appear excessive and incredible, it must be considered that the historian himself declares the greater part of these were not citizens of Jerusalem, but of those who had come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were suddenly shut up by the army⁴, which further accounts for the famine, which from the first made frightful ravages among them. And it further deserves to be noted, that this is not a random guess of the historian, but a calculation founded on an official return of the numbers who were usually present on such occasions, compared with actual observations during the course of the siege⁵. Or if again it should be thought that the limits of the city must have been much more extensive than is usually represented, to have contained so large a number, it must be borne in mind that we have the repeated testimony of the same historian to this fact also, where he mentions that the circuit of the city, including

¹ See Deut. xxviii. 53—57. and compare Josephus, J. W. vi. iii. 4.

² J. W. vi. ix. 3.

³ Ibid. viii. 2.

⁴ Ibid. ix. 2. Compare v. iii. 1.

and xiii. 7. See also II. xiv. 3. where we find 3,000,000 present at the Pass-over.

⁵ Ibid. vi. ix. 3. and see the frightful statement, v. xiii. 7.

the outer wall of Agrippa, was thirty-three furlongs⁶, and the wall of circumvallation erected by the Romans, thirty-nine⁷. But Josephus himself observes, that the city was *crowded* with inhabitants when encompassed by the Roman armies⁸, and the expansive powers of cities on festive occasions is well known, and would still be more felt among Orientals, owing to the simplicity of their mode of living, and their disregard for what is understood by the comforts and delicacies of civilized society in the west.

The rest is soon told : a few who had endeavoured with desperate hardihood to break through the Roman lines, were defeated in the attempt⁹; such as had retired to the subterranean hiding-places were starved or hunted out¹⁰. Among the former was the tyrant John, who was doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Simon, the leader of the opposite faction, succeeded in evading detection until Titus had retired. On the capture of the upper city, he had withdrawn to a sewer with some of his most trusty adherents, and a party of stonecutters, with a supply of provisions, hoping to undermine a passage from the city. Their provisions failed before they could accomplish their purpose, and he was forced to surrender himself to the garrison in the temple-inclosure. He was sent to Titus in chains, reserved for the triumph, and then put to death¹¹.

The city was wholly demolished except the three towers of Hippicus, Phasælus, and Mariamne¹², and so much of the western wall as would serve to protect the legion left there

⁶ Ibid. v. iv. 3.

⁷ Ibid. v. xii. 2.

⁸ Πολὺν δὲ τοῦτο πλῆθος ἔχωθεν συλλέγεται, τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἰρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθη τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ναστὴν ὁ πό-

λεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκυκλώσατο.
J. W. vi. ix. 4.

⁹ Ibid. viii. 4, 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. ix. 4.

¹¹ Ibid. vii. ii. 1. and v. 6.

¹² Ibid. vii. i. 1.

to guard the ruins, who were probably placed in the palace of Herod, which had before answered as a garrison¹; and the conqueror marched to exhibit the captives in the bloody spectacles of the amphitheatre at Cæsarea and Berytus², as examples of the righteous judgments of God, whose hand he was forced to recognize fighting with him through this long and doubtful siege³. The death-throes still continued to convulse the remote members of the Jewish population of Palestine for some time after the heart had ceased to beat; and these were scarcely stilled when the whole body was to be reanimated with new life, and resuscitated with new vigour.

¹ J. W. II. xv. 5. xvii. 8, 9.

² Ibid. vii. ii. 3.

³ Ibid. vi. ix. 1.





Arch of Titus. Rome.

CHAPTER III.

IT was a wise caution, and worthy of imitation, which withheld an old historian of the church¹ from commenting on the events connected with the early ministry of our Blessed Lord, and those first years of the Christian church of which it has pleased the Divine Spirit to dictate an inspired history, lest the brevity of a human narrative should

¹ Sulpicius Severus. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. "Hæc quæ evangeliiis ac deinceps Apostolorum Actibus conti-

nentur attingere non ausus, ne quid forma præcisi operis rerum dignitatis diminueret, reliqua exequar."

detract from the dignity of actions which have been judged worthy of such a record: besides which, the unsuccessful attempts of such as have tried the task, whose productions are calculated to produce on a reverent mind a most painful impression, from the remotest intention of which the authors were, without doubt, entirely free, might well deter a writer from such an undertaking.

Passing on therefore to uninspired records, we find the notices of the Christian church at Jerusalem, during the first three centuries, few and scattered; but in these historical notices, scanty as they are, principles of great importance are involved, which invest them with peculiar interest.

It is related by the father of ecclesiastical history, that the church at Jerusalem, from the period of its establishment to the time of the emperor Adrian, was governed by fifteen bishops in succession, the first of whom was St James the Just¹, the brother of our Lord, one of the Twelve, and the author of the catholic epistle which bears his name. This tradition, it has been frequently remarked, is strikingly confirmed by incidental passages in the Acts of the Apostles, which seem to intimate that this saint had a precedency of his brethren in the apostolic college at Jerusalem².

And it is remarkable that one of the few facts relative to this church, during the period that elapsed between the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the foundation of *Ælia Capitolina*, which has been rescued from oblivion, should be the regular succession of its bishops; a fact with circumstances of such a nature that its credibility cannot be gainsaid on any fair principles of historical criticism; for the names and order of all have been preserved, while the

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. v., &c. &c., as quoted below.

² See Acts xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 17, 18; Gal. ii. 12.

first links in the chain, which are of course the most important, as establishing the apostolic precedent, are those to which the evidence is exhibited most in detail, and which are therefore least open to cavil: indeed, had it been possible for the historian to foresee that a time would arrive when the Divine authority of the Episcopal government would be called in question, he could scarcely have furnished modern controversialists on the catholic side with stronger arguments for its defence.

For it must be remarked that Eusebius in this, as in other matters, does not follow vain rumours or uncertain reports, but the records of earlier writers; and besides the usual intimation that such is the case, conveyed in the oft-repeated words "as they relate," we shall see that, on this particular subject, he quotes the very words of a writer whose testimony belongs to "the first succession after the apostles³," and who would possess the most accurate information on all that concerned the Christians at Jerusalem, inasmuch as he was himself a native of Palestine, an Hebrew believer⁴, and not improbably a member of the church in that city.

This is Hegesippus, to the fragments of whose commentaries, preserved by Eusebius, we are so largely indebted for many interesting particulars relating to the early church.

The account which he gives of the life and martyrdom

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. ὁ Ἠγήσιππος ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, κ. τ. λ. In Lib. IV. cap. xi., Eusebius says that Hegesippus came to Rome during the presidency of Anicetus in that see, and remained until Eleutherius was made bishop: but Hegesippus himself, whose words he

quotes, (cap. xxii. of the same book), says only that he stayed at Rome until Anicetus' time, whose deacon Eleutherius then was. He probably came in the time of Pius, who presided from 156 to 165; Anicetus till 173; Soter to 177; Eleutherius till 192 A. D.

⁴ Hist. Eccles. IV. xxii.

of St James is well known, but cannot be too frequently repeated¹. This blessed apostle had gained for himself, even among the unbelievers, the surname of “the Just,” by his unblamable life of mortification and constant prayer. The faith was widely propagated by his unwearied zeal, so that “many myriads of the Jews believed²” by his means. But the evil passions of the more zealous of the Pharisees were aroused, and taking advantage of a short vacancy in the government, they resolved on an attempt to induce him to apostacy. He was placed in an exalted position in the temple on the Feast of the Passover, and required to persuade the assembled multitude against the Messiahship of the Lord Jesus. He availed himself of the opportunity of bearing testimony to the truth of it; proclaiming aloud His session at the right hand of power, and His future advent in the clouds of heaven. Many were convinced of the truth. The scribes and Pharisees, maddened with disappointment and furious at the success of his preaching, resolved on instant vengeance. The holy man was cast down headlong from the battlements and stoned; but he had space to fall upon his knees and pray for the pardon of his murderers, after the example and in the words of his Divine Master, saying, “I entreat thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.” Wounded, bruised, and bleeding, his life was still whole in him, when one of the bystanders smote him on the head with a fuller’s club, and terminated at once his sufferings and his life. This barbarous murder is mentioned by the Jewish historian as the chief sin of his countrymen which filled the cup of vengeance to the brim³.

¹ Hegesippus, apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. II. xxiii.

² Acts xxi. 20.

³ See Joseph. Ant. xx. ix. 1. for an account of the martyrdom of St James, but the words quoted by Eusebius as

The time of this martyrdom is variously given by Eusebius, who in one passage of his History, and in his Chronicon, places it about the seventh year of Nero, agreeably with Josephus; while in another passage of the History he fixes it immediately before the destruction of Jerusalem⁴, in the first year of Vespasian, consistently with the Alexandrian Chronicon. If the earlier date be adopted, it will be necessary to suppose a vacancy in the see for the space of eight or nine years, during which the troubled state of the city and country might prevent the church from proceeding to an election; but here again, whatever discrepancies there may be on a point of chronology, there is none at all as to the main point, that Simeon, the son of Cleopas and cousin of our Lord⁵, was chosen by universal consent to succeed St James in the episcopal office.

This election took place at Jerusalem after the return of the church from Pella, and there were present at it such of the apostles and disciples of our Lord as were yet alive, and some of His kinsmen according to the flesh, of whom many still survived⁶. It would appear from this, that during the interval of their sojourn at Pella the Hebrew

from Josephus, after Origen, to the above effect, are not found in the present copies of that writer. The words are: ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίοις, κατὰ ἐκδικησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ περ δικαιοτάτων αὐτὸν ὄντα Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν. Orig. Lib. i. cont. Celsum, p. 3, and Comment. in Matt. p. 233. I think the difficulty of reconciling the Jewish and Christian writers here has been unduly magnified by Valerius. Note in Euseb. l. c.

⁴ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xi., compared with II. xxiii. and the notes of Valerius.

⁵ Eusebius says that Cleophas was the brother of Joseph, which is commonly taken to denote the relationship between the blessed Virgin, and Mary the wife of Cleophas. John xix. 25. See Euseb. ut sup., and Bishop Pearson on the Creed, pp. 175, 176. Lond. 1699, &c.

⁶ Hist. Eccles. III. xi., and IV. xxii. from Hegesippus.

Christians of Jerusalem were as sheep without a shepherd¹; but the hand of Providence, so manifest in all that concerned them, would remind them of the watchful guardianship of the chief Pastor, under whose special protection they were safe. During the days of His earthly pilgrimage, when foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, He had taken thought for His own flock, and had warned them, when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, to flee out of the midst of it². The extraordinary retreat of Cestius, so perplexing to the Jewish historian³, was no doubt divinely ordered, to allow the elect an opportunity of escape; and, in obedience to our Lord's words, they availed themselves of it, and sought safety beyond the Jordan. And Josephus informs us, that many of the principal Jews also took this opportunity of escaping as from a ship on the point of sinking—a remarkable simile, reminding us of the ark of safety provided in and for the church!

The interest attaching to the city which afforded an asylum to the believers under such circumstances, would invest its ruins with peculiar charms, and frequent and earnest were the inquiries of the writer and his fellow-traveller in that country in the summer of 1842. Eagerly did they catch at the sound of "Arbela⁴," which might possibly

¹ This seems to be confirmed by what is said in Eusebius, that the oracular revelation was made to approved persons among them by an angel in dreams, as Epiphanius writes. The announcement would probably (if we may conjecture) have been made to the bishop, as in Revelation i. ii. iii., had there then been one. See Euseb.

Hist. Eccles. III. v., and Epiphanius. Hæres. II. 7, and De Pond. et Mens.

² Luke xxi. 20, 21.

³ The words of the Jewish historian are very remarkable: ἐξαίφνης...καταγνοὺς ἐπ' οὐδεμίᾳ πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπιδῶν, παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέξεν. J. W. II. XIX. 7.

⁴ No doubt identical with the Ar-

be a corruption of the ancient name; and anxiously did they press on their jaded horses to the Christians' Refuge, determined to find in the modern village those features by which they had learnt that Pella might be distinguished. Chief among these was the characteristic of "abundance of water"⁵—and the reiterated inquiry, "Is there water?" had now a deeper meaning than usual, and denoted an intensity of mental thirst. Alas! a tank of *mud*, black as ink, was the only answer to the question, the death-blow to our fondly cherished hopes of an interesting discovery. That same evening, proceeding up the valley of the Jordan, on its east side, we passed near an ancient site, where we were informed there were extensive ruins; but as it was already dark we could not turn aside to examine them. From what I have since read in the travels of Captains Irby and Mangles, I am disposed to think that Pella must be looked for in this locality, now known among the natives as Tabathat Fahkil, which is thus described by those very intelligent gentlemen: "Here the ruins of a modern village stand on a hill bearing E. S. E. from the Acropolis of Bysan; and in a plain to the west of it are the ruins of a square building, with a semicircular end, which appears to have been surrounded by columns. On the east and south sides of the hill are considerable ruins of some ancient city, which must have been of great extent. The situation is beautiful,

bela, mentioned by Eusebius, in the district of Pella. Strange that the very name of the capital of the district should have perished, while the town of inferior note is still so strikingly marked.

⁵ This is Pliny's description of its site, Nat. Hist. v. 16. Other notes are

these: It was a city of the Decapolis (id.) in Coelo-Syria, (Ptolemy, ap. Steph.), in the northern extremity of *eræa*, (Josephus, J. W. III. 2), an *Jabesh* lay between it and *Gerash*. (Euseb. Onom. sub voc. 'Απισωθ and 'Ιάβης, and Procopius Goz. Comment in lib. Judicum).

being on the side of a ravine, with a picturesque stream running at the bottom. As this place appears to be as ancient as Scythopolis, and full two-thirds of its size, it seems unaccountable that history should not mention a town so near 'the principal city of the Decapolis' as this is. We searched for inscriptions, but in vain. The ruins of a fine temple are situated near the water-side, and amongst the columns are found the three orders of architecture, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The river, passing to the south, falls into the Jordan. To the eastward we observed several excavations in the sides of the hills. These are probably the Necropolis, for there are several tombs in this direction resembling those at Bysan and Om Keis¹."

The difficulty suggested in this passage will be obviated on the supposition above hazarded, while the correspondence of situation with that of Pella, and the "abundance of water," are a strong confirmation of this hypothesis; and it may be, that on a more minute inspection, the ruined temple, near the water, might prove to be a Christian church, there situated with a view to the supply of the baptistery. It is to be regretted that there is not the slightest affinity between the names.

It is important to remark, that the return of the Christians to Jerusalem is placed by all the ancient authorities immediately after the destruction by Titus, as the migration to Pella took place shortly before that event, because this interval has been sometimes unduly extended, and regarded as a hiatus in the chain of traditionary evidence relative to the holy places, sufficient to throw discredit

¹ Cap. vi. Date, March 12.

on it altogether². The unanimity of the witnesses to the fact as here stated is, under the circumstances, very remarkable; for from this time forward there can be no question that the Holy City was inhabited from generation to generation by native Christians, who would be using in ordinary-day language the names of those localities in and about Jerusalem, which were consecrated by the awful events recorded in the gospels³.

² Thus Dr Robinson, whose intention is very obvious, writing of the times after Adrian, says, "*At this period, probably, if ever, the former church of Jerusalem, which as a body is said to have withdrawn before the siege of Titus to Pella, beyond the Jordan, re-established itself in the new city.*" Bib. Res. II. p. 10. And Dr Münter, in a work which will be presently referred to, says the same, and adds, that "*Judas, the 15th Bishop, appears to have died in Pella.*" How this appears I do not know: but if it did, it might easily be accounted for. It has been seen, that according to Eusebius, following Hegesippus, St Simeon was elected in Jerusalem soon after its destruction, and Epiphanius, we shall see below, declares in express words that the Christians returned immediately after the catastrophe of Jerusalem.

³ I have been most anxious to avoid strong language in controversy with the author of the Biblical Researches, widely as I differ from him on almost every point, and uncandid as he often is; but I do with the utmost deliberation pronounce him guilty of a most strange perversion of plain facts in the following passage; and I appeal to readers of whatever name, whether it would

be right to modify this language. Speaking of the "*alleged regular succession of bishops (at Jerusalem), from the time of St James to the reign of Adrian,*" he says, "*Eusebius, the only authority on the subject, lived two centuries afterwards; and says expressly, that he had been able to find no document respecting them, and wrote only from report.*" Bib. Res. vol. II. p. 73. Now to pass by the passages quoted by Eusebius from Hegesippus, already referred to, and to take only that on which Dr Robinson rests this assertion, to which he directs us in a note. Hist. Eccles. IV. 5: "*The space of time which the bishops of Jerusalem spent in their presidency over that see, I could in no wise find preserved in writing. For, as report says, they were very short-lived: but THUS MUCH I have been informed of from old records, (ἐξ ἐγγράφων,) that unto the siege of the Jews in Adrian's time, there were in number fifteen successions of bishops there;*" and then he mentions other particulars from these old records respecting them, and gives their names and order! This will be referred to below. The remarks of Dr Keith on the same subject, (Land of Israel, p. 189), have much the character of very ignorant and somewhat

It has been already remarked, that the election of St James's successor took place at Jerusalem soon after its destruction, and this fact has been shewn to rest, not on the bare authority of Eusebius, as has been pretended, but on the much earlier testimony of Hegesippus, whose opportunities of collecting accurate information had been most favourable. The language of this same writer is also quoted¹ for the martyrdom of St Simeon, which occurred in the reign of Trajan, when Atticus was president of Syria. On the accusation of certain heretics he was charged with being a son of David² and a Christian. Being subjected to various cruel tortures at the advanced age of 120 years, he bore them with such wonderful constancy for many successive days, that the president and those about him marvelled greatly. After which he glorified God by a death conformable to that of his divine Master, whose patience he had followed.

St Simeon was succeeded in the government of the Church at Jerusalem by one Justus³, of whose presidency we know little, except that at this time the church, which had hitherto maintained its virgin purity, became corrupted by heretical pravity; a curse which it owed to the disappointed ambition of an unworthy candidate for the Apostolic chair⁴. From this period to the reign of Adrian the records are very scanty⁵, preserving only the names and orders of the episcopal succession, but furnishing no particulars of the individual bishops; it is sufficiently evident, however, that the presidency of each must have been of very short duration,

vulgar *railing*, and do not pretend to argument. They are quite unworthy of him.

¹ Hist. Eccles. III. 32.

² Compare Hist. Eccles. III. 20.

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 35.

⁴ Hegesipp. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 32, and IV. 22.

⁵ Id. IV. 5.

from the fact of thirteen having held the perilous dignity, in the short space of 35 years⁶: and considering the excited state of the Jewish population during that interval, and their bitter hatred of the Christians⁷, it is far from improbable that the rapid succession may be accounted for by martyrdom, since the believers would meet with no protection from the Roman governors, or perhaps even be sacrificed by them as a peace-offering to the turbulent Jews.

But the time had now arrived when the infatuation of their enemies was to work an important revolution in their internal polity, the circumstances of which require a detailed notice⁸.

It will be remembered, that on the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus had spared at least the three towers on the northern wall of Zion, and part of the west wall, as a protection for the Roman garrison, whom he probably placed in the extensive palace of Herod, in the north-west angle of the upper city. The remainder of the city

⁶ Viz. from the 3rd of Trajan, A.D. 101, when St Simeon was martyred, until about the 19th of Adrian, (A.D. 136), when Marcus was elected; for it is self-evident that the uncertainty of Eusebius as to the duration of the presidency of the Jerusalem bishops, (see page 129, note³), relates *only* to those who followed St Simeon, whose martyrdom he places as above.

⁷ The Jews were always observed to be more hostile to Christians than the heathens in apostolic times. See the passages collected from the New Testament, with remarks, in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, in Ep. Galat. No v. and 1 Thess. No. v., and the account

of the martyrdom of St Polycarp, cap. 12. *Patr. Apost.* Vol. II. p. 592. Ed. Jacobson. The only thing that could tempt the Jews to the theatre was to assist in putting the Christians to death.

⁸ For the Jewish war under Hadrian, I am largely indebted to an interesting pamphlet on this hitherto perplexed subject, by Dr Münter, late bishop of Copenhagen, brought within reach of the unlearned in a translation by Mr W. Wadden Turner, published in the third part of Dr Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 393 to 455, to which my references are made.

was wholly reduced to ruin, according to the testimony of Josephus; and it is very remarkable that, with this author in his hands, Eusebius should imagine that only half of the city was destroyed¹. There can however be no question that, as soon as possible after the desolation, many Jews returned to settle on its ruins², as we have seen that the Christians also did; and accordingly when visited by the Emperor Adrian, probably in the 13th year of his reign³, he found a Christian church with a few houses in its vicinity at the Coenaculum on Mount Zion, and not far distant seven synagogues of the Jews—one of which remained even to the time of Constantine and the episcopacy of Maximus, as a tent in a vineyard. It was apparently at this time that the emperor conceived the idea of rebuilding the city, and left there his friend and kinsman Aquila, a native of Sinope in Pontus, and a pagan⁴, to superintend the work. The miraculous gifts which had been continued in the church on its return to Jerusalem after the desolation, convinced him of the truth of Christianity, and he was baptized, but being shortly after excommunicated for the practice of astrology, in which he persisted after frequent admonitions, he renounced the Christian profession,

¹ Compare Joseph. J. W. vii. i. 1, and Euseb. Dem. Evan. vi. xviii. Yet his language in the Theophania would seem to imply a complete desolation. See xviii. p. 247.

² Dr Münter, p. 416.

³ A. D. 130. See Dr Münter, ix. p. 411, who shews that he was in Palestine in that year. For this visit, however, and its consequences, I follow Epiphanius, de Pond. et Mens. xiv. xv., except his dates. He makes Adrian visit Jerusalem 47 years after its destruction, i. e. A. D. 117, the first

year of his reign. I am surprised that Dr Münter has not made more use of this author: in the only passage in which he mentions him he misrepresents him sadly, and then sneers at him: xxiv. p. 448. He refers what Epiphanius writes of Aquila to Marcus the bishop. I cannot help suspecting that the translation is in fault, but have it not in my power to consult the original.

⁴ μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπαναστρέψαντες . . . σημεία μέγαλα ἐπετέλουν, κ. λ. Epiph. loc. cit.

and turned in disgust to the Jews, among whom, having applied himself to the study of Hebrew, he afterwards translated the Bible, with the design of weakening, as far as possible, the force of the predictions which go to establish the Messiahship of Jesus.

One design of Adrian in rebuilding Jerusalem, which he proposed colonizing with Roman veterans, was, no doubt, to curb the turbulent spirit of the Jews, and to dissipate their hopes of a national restoration⁵. During the reign of his predecessor Trajan, their violence had broken forth in alarming revolts in Cyrenia first, then in Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia; and the flame was only quenched in torrents of blood, after severe loss to the Romans⁶. Quenched indeed it was not; it did but smoulder in its ashes, to burst forth again with increased fury when new fuel was added. The contempt, amounting to abhorrence, in which the Jews were held by the Romans, served to exasperate their enmity even more than the recollection of what they had suffered from them; the annual tax of two drachmæ, once due to the temple at Jerusalem, now exacted as the price of their religious liberty, and applied to the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome⁷, would not fail to shock their religious feelings, and to keep alive the recollection of their calamities. But the idea of the Holy City being given up to the heathen, the possibility of the mountain of the Lord's house being polluted by an idol-image, it was intolerable; they resolved to risk all—to suffer all, as their fathers had done, rather than submit to such desecration⁸. The widely-organized conspiracy burst forth as in a moment, not only in Palestine, but in all parts of the Roman empire where

⁵ Dr Münter, XI. p. 415.

⁶ Ibid. III.—VII. 401—408.

⁷ Joseph. J. W. VII. vi. 6; Dion

Cass. LXVI. vii.

⁸ Dr Münter, XII. p. 418.

Jews were located, so that almost the whole world was set in commotion by the revolt. Fifty fortified towns, and no fewer than nine hundred and eighty-five open towns and villages in Judæa and the neighbouring countries, were in the hands of the Jews, while the Romans, unprepared for such an emergency, had but their peace-establishment to oppose to them; so secretly had the revolt been concerted¹.

It was no time for weak measures on the part of the government. Severus, the most renowned general of the day, was summoned in haste from Britain; troops were poured into the country from all quarters, and a mortal struggle commenced. The insurrection was headed by Bar-Cochebas (the son of a Star²), a false Messiah, who was aided in his councils by a learned Rabbi, of the name of Akiba, a zealous proselyte; and well did they support their title to the positions which they respectively occupied. They had at an early period of the revolt possessed themselves of the capital, where they had attempted to rebuild the temple. They were not driven out until the third year of the war, having, as it appears, lost their leader in the

¹ Dion Cass. LIX. xiv. See Dr Münter, xvii. p. 432.

² Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 316, quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. iv. viii., whose account of the war will be found in iv. vi. He adopts the sense of the leader's name as above given, as do most writers: בר-כוכבא, stellæ filius. The learned Reland suggests whether he may not have derived his name from a town in Bashan, mentioned by Epiphanius (Hæres. i. ii. 29), which he writes Κοκάβη, but says the Hebrews called it Χωχάβη, (as Eusebius also writes it in Hist. Eccles.

i. vii.), which would exactly answer to the Hebrew name. Reland takes the בר to be equivalent to שׂוֹנֵי, so as to mean merely "a man of Cochaba." See Reland's Palest. pp. 727, 8.

³ For this see St Chrysost. Orat. III. in Judæos, as quoted by Dr Münter, xvi. p. 431, n. 2. The authorities for the recovery of Jerusalem by the Romans are given xviii. p. 434, notes. It was at this time probably that the foundations of the temple were ploughed up by Annianus Rufus. Münter, xi. p. 418.

siege. But these calamities did not put an end to the revolt. Rufus, the son of Bar-Cochebas, succeeded his father in the command, and the strongly fortified town of Bether afforded for some time a safe retreat to those who could effect their escape. Here they held out under Rufus and his son Romulus for nearly three years; when, worn out by famine, no less than by the attacks of the Romans, the city was captured with great bloodshed, and the ruin of this phœnix-like people again accomplished⁴.

It is a great satisfaction to have it in my power to determine beyond all doubt the site of this important position, which has so long and so strangely baffled the search of the curious⁵. I say strangely, because its situation in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Eusebius has taught us to look for it, the fact of its retaining its ancient name, *entirely unaltered—which has even found its way into the*

⁴ Dr Münter, XIX. XX., with the authorities—chiefly Jewish.

⁵ For its position see Eusebius, IV. vi. as quoted above. It has sometimes been confounded with Bethoron. Reland shews the fallacy of this hypothesis. Palest. 639. It seems to have been despaired of. Thus Dr Münter writes: "Its site is not yet determined; and indeed it will hardly be possible to ascertain it, until at some future day a more exact investigation of ruins, and perhaps of inscriptions bearing its name, shall bring it to light." XX. p. 439. So late as December 1843, Dr Robinson writes: "This mysterious city seems destined to baffle the efforts of historians and archaeologists to determine its position; for all the data extant are too few and

too indefinite to afford ground for more than some degree of probability." After pondering the question for some years, he is disposed to place it at Bethel! The ingenious arguments by which he seeks to establish this position are very amusing, and I would add, without offence, *very characteristic*. See p. 458, et seq. Bib. Sac. Part III., in an appendix to Dr Münter's valuable paper so often referred to. See also this author's Bib. Res. II. p. 6: "Strong but now unknown city:" and yet he had written in his map of the environs of Jerusalem, "Wady Bittir," which he tells us is the Latin way of writing this very name!!! Bib. Sac. 456. It should be *Beitir*, the Hebrew "beth," as usual, being changed into the Arabic "*beit*," of the same signification.

later maps, and, lastly, the local traditions existing among the native Mahometans—certainly not taught, because not known, by monks or travellers—contribute to form a chain of evidence for its identity stronger far than any I met with in Palestine, excepting such as I was prepared to expect. The importance of the subject will, I trust, excuse the digression and minute detail.

Having heard of the existence of a village in the vicinity of Jerusalem, whose name appeared of sufficient interest to justify a visit, I took with me a Mahometan guide, a peasant of Ain Karim, and on Friday the 28th of April, 1843, went in quest of Beiter. Leaving the convent of the Cross and Ain Malakh on the right, and Beit Safâfa and es-Sherafât on the left, I followed the deep Wady Hannieh, until, after passing the fountains of Yalo and Wellager, I found a valley running into it from the left, which comes down from the neighbourhood of Beit Jala. This last Wady derives its name from the village of which I was in quest, standing at the point of juncture of the two valleys¹. The first feature that attracted my attention, as I approached the spot, was a lofty hill projecting into the valley, which surrounds it on three sides, attached to the modern village by a rocky isthmus. On this hill my guide pointed out *Khirbet el Yehûd* (the “Ruins of the Jews”), of which

¹ I must refer to Dr Robinson's map of the environs of Jerusalem, which, however, can only be trusted in those parts marked by his tracts. For example, the following alterations must be made in the case before us. Wady Hannieh, (marked by him W. Beit-Hanina), after receiving Wady Ismail, in which Satâf stands, (see above p. 10), continued its course to the southward,

on the west of Ain Karim, until it meets Wady El-Werd. It then runs about W. S. W., until it receives Wady Beitir from the S. E., a little *below* El-Wellajeh. Here it makes an *elbow*, in which stands the hill mentioned in the text, on a kind of promontory. The valley then continues its course in the same direction as before, under another name.

he had volunteered mention on the road. Following a track down which a copious stream of water was flowing, I came to a fountain which rises above the village, having a passage cut through the solid rock to the source. In this passage I found the Sheikh of the village, and immediately engaged his services. On enquiring if there were ruins in the neighbourhood, the Sheikh and several villagers who had congregated, with one voice repeated the welcome words "Khirbet el Yehûd," pointing to the hill over against us. Under the guidance of the Sheikh I ascended to it, passing on the way some large caverns in its rocky sides, in some of which he said there was architecture; but they were blocked up, and I could not explore them. On reaching the summit of the hill, my guide conducted me, without the slightest hesitation to the ruins of "a tower" on the north, near which he pointed out the remains of an "old wall," which he told me had surrounded the hill. There was also a "second tower" on the south side, the ruins of which are very distinct, though the masonry is not striking, but solid; and beneath this he directed my attention to "*a fosse*," which had been contrived by art for the fortification of this remarkable position. Surrounded by the almost precipitous valley on three sides, the hill was by nature impregnable, except on the south, where, as was said, it was attached to the modern village and the mountain-region above it by a rocky isthmus. This isthmus had been *cut through and a deep trench* formed, to guard the approaches in that quarter; and a stronger position for ancient warfare can scarcely be imagined. Having explored the spot for some time, and made my notes, I was well satisfied with the result of my visit, and was about to commence the descent, when the Sheikh pointed to the hills behind the modern village, rising to about the same height as that on which we stood,

and remarked, "They shot at them from that hill." "Who shot at whom?" I enquired. "Oh! I don't know," he replied; "it was a long while ago. How should I know?"

Strange that the tradition of the siege by the Romans should have been handed down to this day, in this vague form, among the infidels! for there are none but Mahometans in the village, and the Greek monks at Jerusalem, to whom I afterwards mentioned the facts, knew scarcely of the existence of the village, much less of its traditions! The site is more circumscribed than I had expected to find it; the wall which surrounded the hill could scarcely have exceeded a mile in circuit, but this difficulty may be solved by the supposition of the town having covered the hill on whose side the modern village now stands, and to which the isolated hill would form the acropolis. The traditions of the rabbies respecting the extent of Bether are no doubt absurdly exaggerated¹, but it is incredible that its whole population should have been so long cooped up within such narrow limits as those above described. Whatever solution may be offered to this difficulty, I do not apprehend that any objections can avail to set aside the evidence which has now been adduced for the identity of this site with the Bether of Jewish history; and I have as little doubt that the high region to the south of this, which I afterwards traversed on the way to El Khûdr, is described by Solomon in the Canticles as the "Mountains of Bether²;" as the valley which bounds it on the east is still called by that name.

¹ "It had, say they, from 4 to 500 synagogues, in each 400 teachers, and in the smallest 300 scholars; or, according to others, each teacher had to instruct 400 children." Bib. Sac.

440. See note 2, on the same page, for other "specimens of rabbinical histories," (as Dr M. calls them), relating to Bether.

² Cant. ii. 17.

Here then the last tragedy of the Jewish war under Adrian was enacted; here the grandson of Bar-Cochebas with many of his compatriots lost his life, while Rabbi Akiba, with thousands of his deluded followers, fell into their enemies' hands. The former was executed, and with him, says the Mishna, vanished the glory of the law; the latter were sold as slaves under the terebinth of their father Abraham, at Hebron, or at Goza, which hence received the name of Hadrian's Mart³, while the remainder were transported to the slave-markets of Egypt, and thence dispersed throughout the world.

From this time forth the unhappy people were forbidden all access to "the city of their fathers' sepulchres," and were not even permitted to feast their eyes with a distant view of its sacred hills⁴, until the rigour of the law was somewhat abated under Constantine, and they were allowed at first to breathe their sighs towards it from the surrounding heights, and afterwards to water it with their tears on one day in the year⁵. Not that there was much during this period to attract the Jewish pilgrim to the Holy City, desecrated as it now was by all that was calculated to disgust their national prejudices, exhibiting as it did all the marks of a pagan city, in its magnificent dwellings adapted to ideas of Roman luxury⁶, with

³ Dr Münter, xx. to xxiii.; Bib. Sac. 438—446.

⁴ The authorities, as given by Dr Münter, are Justin Martyr, Apol. i. xlvii. Dial. xvi.; Aristo of Pella, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. vi.; Tertullian, adv. Jud. c. xv.; Euseb. Demonst. Evang. viii. 18, and Chron. Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sac. ii. xlv.

⁵ The prohibition was in full force

when Eusebius wrote his Theophania. He not only says that "they were not allowed to set foot in it:" but, "cannot view it even from a distance." p. 249. But when the Bordeaux pilgrim visited the city, 333, the annual visit was permitted. Itin. Hierosol.

⁶ Dr Münter, xxiv. Bib. Sac. p. 445, and the authorities there referred to. With regard to the swine which,

a theatre and other public buildings, and, worst of all, idol-temples, one of which occupied the temple-mountain, in realization of their worst apprehensions; while the very name by which it was now called would perpetuate the memory of their calamities and of its desecration, by uniting the prænomen of their conqueror with the title of his god; a name conferred on it by the emperor on occasion of the celebration of his vicennalia in 136.

But the Christian Church of *Ælia Capitolina* will now demand our notice.

During the troublous period of the Jewish revolt the Christian population had suffered severely from the insatiable malice of the insurgents. Bar-Chochebas would first have persuaded them to make common cause with his party, against their foreign lord, but besides that they had learnt to be subject to the powers that be, "not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake;" they had no reason to hope that the Jewish domination would be less opposed to their interests than that of their Roman masters; but rather the reverse. Their refusal to take part in the revolt subjected them to most cruel tortures¹, until the arrival of the Roman army, by diverting the thoughts of their persecutors, afforded them some relief.

Whether they retired from this storm as before, does not appear; but as Jerusalem was not the principal scene of this war, it is not improbable that they resided there throughout. In any case, they certainly were there soon after the termination of the struggle, and then it was that

according to Eusebius (*Chronicon*) was engraven over the Bethlehem gate, it is doubtful whether its design was to insult the Jews. As they were never to be permitted to see it, it could hardly

have had that intention. Dositheus, *Lib. i. cap. viii. sect. 5*, gives a choice of solutions.

¹ Justin Martyr, *Apol. i. 316*, quoted by Eusebius, *iv. vi.*

an important change was made in their polity. The suspicion of Judaism which attached to the Christian profession in the minds of the Romans, was so much confirmed by the peculiar practices of that Church, that its members could scarcely expect not to be identified with the Jews in the prohibition which has been mentioned. From the times of the apostles until this period the Hebrew converts at Jerusalem had united the Christian profession with the observance of the ceremonial law, and circumcision had been considered as an indispensable qualification for the episcopal chair. Under these circumstances it may be readily imagined that a pagan emperor would regard the Jerusalem Church as an offshoot of the synagogue, however he may have been taught by the apologists to distinguish between Jews and Christians generally. The Hebrews resolved to obviate the difficulty by relinquishing their peculiarity, and Marcus, a believer from among the gentiles, was elected to the chair of St James².

An observation of an old historian will fitly introduce a few remarks on this important epoch in the annals of the Church at Jerusalem. It is Sulpicius Severus, who, recording these events, introduces the observation that "this happened by the Divine disposal, in order that the liberty of the Church's faith might not be subject to the yoke of the law³."

The admission of the Gentiles as such to a full partici-

² "Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcisione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem. . . . Tum primus Marcus ex gentibus, apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit." Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. Lib. II. Compare

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. vi. apud fin.

³ "Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat. . . . Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum ut legis servitus a libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur." Ibid.

pation in the privileges of the new covenant, which had been repeatedly declared by the prophets of the old dispensation, would appear to be one of the truths reserved by our blessed Lord, in condescension to the present weakness of His apostles¹. Not but that it was more than hinted at, at a very early period of His Personal Ministry²; and afterwards more clearly taught, at least to our perception, by many striking parables³. But when we consider the strong national prejudices with which his disciples had to contend, it is not perhaps strange that they should have failed to apprehend his full meaning, especially as it does not appear that he thought fit to interpret any such parables even to them. It is perhaps more remarkable that his last parting precept, distinct as it was, did not remove the veil from their understanding⁴, and that even the first gift of the Holy Spirit did not suffice for this revelation, for still they confined their preaching to the circumcision only⁵; so that the proselytes of the gate were not suffered to be admissible until an express intimation to that effect had been given to St Peter⁶. It was subsequent to this that a fresh revelation made known to the church the astounding truth, that not even so much preparation was required for the acceptance of the gospel tidings, that the synagogue was to be from henceforth in no sense the door of entrance to the church, but that all whose "hearts were opened" might pass at once from the idol-temple to "the house of the living God"—from the worship of devils to the

¹ John xvi. 12.

² His discourse with the woman of Samaria and the preaching to the Samaritans. John iv. 23, &c.

³ *e. g.* The labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. 1, &c.; the unthank-

ful husbandmen, xxi. 33, &c.; the marriage-supper, xxii. 1, &c.; the prodigal son, Luke xv. 11, &c.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁵ Acts xi. 19.

⁶ Acts x. xi.

service of Christ⁷. No marvel that perplexing questions should arise on such a revolution, and that the conflict with old principles and prejudices and antipathies should agitate the whole body, when in the first instance it had been thought advisable to withhold the truth from the generality of believers⁸. The apostles, no doubt, received the intelligence with joy, as the whole church had done when the door of faith had been opened to the devout Gentiles⁹; but all were not actuated by the same fervent love, all had not learnt as they had, to bring every "thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ." The Judaizing teachers, with all the busy perverseness of later heretics, sowed dissensions in all the apostolic churches, by their attempts to impose upon them the yoke of the ceremonial law, and rendered necessary the council at Jerusalem¹⁰. This council, however, confined itself strictly to the question then brought before it, and its determination affected the Gentiles only; no opinion whatever being pronounced as to the obligation of ceremonial observances on the Hebrew converts. Perhaps the time had not arrived, or the apostles were instructed that Jerusalem was not the place for the discussion of such a subject; it cannot however admit of a doubt that St Paul did promulgate the nullity of such observances for all religious purposes, to Jews as well as Gentiles¹¹, although in certain instances he tolerated

⁷ See the terms of amazement in which this "mystery" is spoken of by the apostle as a new "revelation." Eph. iii. 2—10; compare Rom. xvi. 25, 26; Col. i. 25—27; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

⁸ Gal. ii. 2.

⁹ Acts xi. 18. Compare xv. 3.

¹⁰ Acts xv. " &c. &c.

¹¹ Especially in the Epistle to the Galatians, which "goes farther than any of St Paul's epistles, for it avows in direct terms the supercession of the Jewish law, as an instrument of salvation, even to the Jews themselves. Not only were the Gentiles exempt from its authority, but even the Jews were no longer to place any depend-

them so long as no undue importance was attached to them¹. The circumstances of the church at Jerusalem, composed as it was of zealous adherents to the law, rendered a greater measure of forbearance advisable there; and St Paul himself, on his occasional visits, conformed to the practice of his brethren in that city, becoming "a Jew to the Jews, that he might gain the Jews." In like manner the other apostles, when without the limits of that diocese, laid aside "the yoke from which Christ had set them free," but to which they voluntarily submitted rather than put a stumblingblock in the way of their weaker brethren². They wished that the law should die a natural death; they saw that it had "decayed and waxen old, and was ready to vanish away³;" and when they considered the example of their divine Master⁴, the promulgator of the law

ency upon it, or consider themselves as subject to it on a religious account. (Ch. iii. 23—25.) This was undoubtedly spoken of Jews and to Jews. In like manner, chap. iv. 1—5. These passages are nothing short of a declaration that the obligations of the Jewish law, considered as a religious dispensation, the effects of which were to take place in another life, had ceased even with respect to the Jews themselves." Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* in Ep. ad Gal. No. VII. See again, No. x. 3.

"St Paul of all the apostles of Christ met with the greatest opposition and contempt from the false Judaizing apostles, that troubled the church in his time. "The true reason whereof was, that he first of all openly and everywhere proclaimed and preached the utter abolition of the Mosaic law, both as to Jews and Gentiles." Bp. Bull, Sermon 5. Works, i. p. 113.

¹ Acts xvi. 3. and xxi. 26. See Paley's remarks on these passages, *Horæ Paulinæ* in Ep. Gal. No. VII.

² Galat. ii. 12. See St Chrysostom's Commentary on this Epistle, in which he always speaks of the practice of the church at Jerusalem as a condescension of the apostles to the weakness of the believers, "of permission, and not of commandment," as a prudential measure (*οἰκονομία*,) to avoid scandal to their weaker brethren, wishing to draw them away by degrees from the law.

³ Hebrews viii. 13.

⁴ "While the law continued, it was to be 'magnified and made honourable,' not disregarded. Consider our Saviour's example. . . . He actually came to supersede it, yet how reverently did He treat, how dutifully did He obey His own ordinances! He went up to the temple continually, and

no less than of the gospel, and its fulfilment also, they had abundant authority for the course which they pursued, independently of the Divine light that was in them. Meanwhile the Hebrew converts were weaned from their fond attachment to the "schoolmaster" by the exhibition of the great truth that Christ had become "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth⁵;" that the type had given way to "the Truth;" the shadow to the substance; the "circumcision of the flesh," to the "circumcision made without hands;" Sinai to Mount Zion—but not the Mount Zion at Jerusalem, since the earthly Jerusalem itself had given place to the "Jerusalem which is above, which is free, and the Mother of us all⁶." And this teaching of the holy Apostles was followed up by their coadjutors and immediate successors⁷.

Yet the destruction of Jerusalem did not convince the members of the Hebrew church of their dispensation from legal observances. On their return from their brief sojourn in Peræa, they proceeded to elect to the vacant chair of

bade his hearers obey those who sat in Moses' seat; He sent those whom He cured to the priests; He paid the temple-tribute; He did not destroy, till He had gained (so to say) a right to destroy, in that He had fulfilled. Not till He could say 'It is finished,' did the veil of the temple rend in twain." Newman's Sermons, last Vol. Sermon xxiv. pp. 420, 421. It is a happy illustration of St Augustin. Ep. 82. al. 19: The law was *dead*, it was to be honourably *buried*. This whole epistle, as indeed the whole controversy of which it forms a part, has an important bearing on this question.

⁵ Rom. x. 4. See this epistle at

large, especially the striking figure in vii. 1—4.

⁶ Gal. iv. 26. See this epistle and that to the Hebrews at large, for the law (not abrogated but) *fulfilled* in Christ and his people, as set forth in two sermons of Mr Newman, in his last Volume, xiv. "Christian Church a Continuation of the Jewish;" and xv. "Principle of Continuity between the Jewish and Christian Churches," pp. 203—244.

⁷ It will be enough to mention St Barnabas and St Hermas. The epistle of the former, considered in connexion with Gal. ii. 13, &c., is very remarkable. It looks like an act of repentance.

St James a strict observer of the ceremonial ritual; and if it be true, as Hegesippus affirms, that the surviving apostles assisted at this solemnity, the continuance of such practices in the church would have, so far, the highest earthly sanction¹. In what light its further continuance was regarded by the Catholic body does not appear; for it happens that the historian to whom we owe the records of their church was himself one of the circumcision², and consequently not an impartial witness, even had he pronounced a judgment upon it, which he does not seem to have done, further than to state that the church maintained its virgin purity until the election of its third bishop, probably at the commencement of the second century; when it was corrupted by the errors of one of the seven sects of the Jews; at which time there was an innumerable company of circumcised believers in communion with it³.

It was not however strange that the second Jewish war, accompanied as it was by the almost entire annihilation or dispersion of that nation, and followed by the prohibition which has been already noticed, should appear to them in the light in which we have seen it was regarded by a later historian, as intimating the abrogation of the Old Covenant, with all its carnal ordinances. And they acted upon this intimation in the election of Marcus, the sixteenth in succession from St James.

It was perhaps to be expected that this measure, however approved by the majority, as the election shews that it actually was, would scandalize some who were "otherwise minded," and if these latter were self-willed as they were weak⁴, they would manifest their disgust, as others,

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. xi. IV. v.

² Ibid. IV. xxii.

³ Ibid. III. xxxv.

⁴ See Phil. iii. 15, and the context,

from various causes, had already done, by breaking the unity of the Church, and separating themselves from their Christian brethren. Thus it came to pass, and the sect of the Nazarenes was the offspring of this unhappy division.

In what light these sectarians were regarded by the generality of believers no long time after this schism, we ascertain from a passage in Justin Martyr's Dialogue, (cir. 150) which is interesting on more accounts than one⁵. The Jew had proposed a question touching the salvability of those who lived under the law, and the Christian had professed his belief that they would be saved, in like manner as those who lived before the law, through the merits of Christ, on Whose essential Divinity and proper Humanity he takes occasion to dwell. The next question is more perplexing; whether they who desire to observe the law that was given by Moses, believing at the same time in Jesus who was crucified, acknowledging Him to be the Christ of God, to Whom the judgment of all is committed, and Whose is the everlasting kingdom—whether such an one can be saved? The Christian apologist, naturally unwilling to pronounce an opinion on those whom the Church had not judged, at first seemed desirous to evade the question, and would have returned to the point which they were before discussing; but being pressed for a reply, he returned a guarded answer in the affirmative, as expressing his own private opinion, but not at all as implying a general consent of the Church. This was observed by

where St Paul speaks of the renunciation of the law as a mark of perfection; the contrary, as weakness and blindness.

⁵ It contains one of the strongest

testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the divinity of our blessed Lord. See Dial. sect. 45, &c. pp. 140, seqq. Paris Ed. 1742.

Trypho, and the question which he next propounded brought out the whole truth. "Why do you say," he asks, "I think that such will be saved, unless there be some who deny that they can?" Justin grants that such is the case. There are those who would not even venture to hold communication with such on any terms of intimacy, with whom he does not agree; for if there be any who, through weakness of mind, observe the Mosaic ordinances as far as they can, after they have hoped in Christ;—so long as they continue in the practice of the moral precepts of piety, and in Christian fellowship with their brethren from among the Gentiles, without compelling them to be circumcised, or to conform in other respects to the Mosaic law, having the same compassion and affection for them notwithstanding—for his part, he thinks it probable that such will be saved: but for those, who, not satisfied with bearing the yoke themselves, seek to impose it upon others, and refuse to hold communion with those who will not conform to their practices, of such he can acknowledge no such thing. It is apparent then that at this time there were shades of opinion on both sides relative to the practices in question; that their observance was regarded as a weakness by all, even the most moderate of the orthodox, but was not supposed by these to vitiate the purity of the Christian profession, so long as it was attended by no breach of charity¹; while,

¹ Origen uses the same lenity towards these weak brethren, Lib. vii. in Epist. ad Rom. In his work against Celsus, Lib. ii. he distinguishes the Jewish Christians into three classes. 1. Those who had forsaken the rites of the law, under the idea that they were to be understood spiritually. 2. Those who interpreted them spiritually, yet did not forsake their literal observance.

3. Those who observed them seeing only their literal sense. These would answer respectively to the *τέλειοι*, the *ἐτέρωσ φρονούντες*, or *ἄσθενες*, and the *αἰρεσιῶται*. The author of the Clementine Epistles, about the middle of the second century, is thought from numerous passages in his writings, to have belonged to the second class.

on the other hand, the Judaizers differed as to the limits which they should assign to their ceremonial strictness—some refusing to acknowledge as brethren any but those who thought with them, while the more moderate were satisfied to act upon their own principles, without respect to the practices of others. This latter section would, no doubt, in a short time be absorbed into the orthodox or dissenting body, and finally disappear; while the vicious extreme of this error would probably lead on to heretical opinions, as all declension from truth is likely to do. Had the work of Clemens Alexandrinus, whose title has been preserved by Eusebius², continued to our days, we might have seen the progress of this schismatical body, giving birth to a yet more vicious progeny, and gradually preparing itself for the unenviable distinction of being enrolled under the head of formal heresies, as it is reckoned by Epiphanius in the fourth century, whose account of them is worth transcribing as representing the judgment of the Church at that period. He describes them as “in all respect Jews and nothing else, for they have not renounced the law, nor do they differ from them on any point except that they believe in Christ. They confess the resurrection of the dead, and the creation of the universe by God; they profess one God and Jesus Christ His Son; they are learned in the Hebrew, and read the sacred books in that language,

² “The Ecclesiastical Canon; or, against those who Judaized.” Hist. Eccles. vi. xiii. alluded to below, p. 154. The doubt expressed by Epiphanius as to the time of the rise of the Nazarite heresy, seems to imply that it developed itself gradually. It is scarcely correct to say that Epiphanius is the first to enrol them as formal

heretics; for there cannot be the slightest doubt that the second division of the Ebionites, noticed and condemned by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. iii. xxvii. are the same as were afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Nazarenes. His account of their tenets agrees entirely with that given in the text from Epiphanius, Hæres. i. ii. No. 29.

as do the Jews. But they differ from Jews and also from Christians¹—from the Jews, in that they believe in Christ; from Christians, in that they are still bound to the law, to circumcision, sabbaths, and other rites. As to their belief in Christ, he cannot say whether they consider him a mere man, as the Cerinthians, or acknowledge that he was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, as in truth He was². This heresy is found in the country of Peræa in Cælo-Syria; for there it had its commencement.” And yet he observes, “they cannot fulfil the law of which they make their boast; for the law being brought to an end, and its observance rendered impossible, it is evident to all persons of sense that Christ has come to fulfil the law: ‘not to destroy, but to fulfil;’ and to remove the curse denounced against the transgression of its precepts, and has given us more blessed gifts than the legal ordinances.”

“How then,” he concludes, “have they not fallen from the grace of God, when St Paul says, ‘If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing?’ But it is easy to detect and refute such as these, since they are Jews, and nothing else. Yet the Jews hate them thoroughly, and curse them in their synagogues thrice a day, and are the more opposed to them because that, being of the Jews, they preach that Jesus is the Christ; a doctrine most hateful to those Jews who as yet believe not.” This is nearly the last notice we have of them as an existing sect. Probably it shared the fate of other heresies, and became extinct soon after, to reappear again, it may be, at some subsequent period of

¹ So St Jerome says of them: “Dum volunt et Judæi esse et Christiani, nec Judæi sunt nec Christiani.” Epist. LXXX.

² Eusebius says they were sound on this point. Hist. Eccles. l. c.

the church's history, as has been the case with so many exploded perversions of Christian truth.

To return now to the church of *Ælia*. Eusebius, who could consult the succession of the bishops, carefully preserved in all the ancient Churches, has handed down to us the names and the order of those who occupied the see during the interval that elapsed between the reign of Hadrian and the accession of Commodus; but their annals apparently exhibited nothing worth preserving³. The notices of Narcissus are very frequent, and very full of interest; he seems to have presided in that see for many years, and to have taken an active part in the discussion of the questions which agitated the Church at that period. He presided, jointly with Theophilus of *Cæsarea*, in the Council of Palestine, assembled to consider the controverted point relating to the observance of Easter, wherein the tradition of the churches of Asia differed from that of the rest of the world⁴; the former concluding their fast on the fourteenth day of the paschal moon, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall, quoting the authority of those great lights which had shone so brightly in their candlesticks before them, for this mode of reckoning; while the remainder with one consent agreed in what is now universally practised, the termination of the lenten fast only on the day of the weekly commemoration of our Lord's resurrection.

The miracles of Narcissus had been handed down by the Christians of his diocese in uninterrupted succession until the times of Eusebius⁵, and one is mentioned by that

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. xii.

⁴ Ibid. xxiii. xxv.

⁵ Ibid. ix. It is not my intention here or elsewhere to enter upon the much controverted question of the cre-

dibility of the ecclesiastical miracles. The subject has been discussed with great ability in an Essay, to one part of which allusion will be frequently made in a subsequent part of this work. The

author. It was on the great Vigils of the Feast of Easter, when oil was wanting for the church, and the drawers were greatly perplexed, that he ordered them to draw water out of the nearest well, which, being consecrated by his prayers, and “poured into the lamps with sincere faith in the Lord, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and Divine power, was changed into the fatness of oil.” Another scarcely less remarkable story related of this bishop would indeed prove that he was under the especial protection of his Divine Master. It runs as follows: Three worthless wretches, moved with hatred at his blameless life, and dreading his ecclesiastical censures, which they were conscious that they deserved, had agreed together to ruin the fair fame of this excellent man by propagating some grievous calumny reflecting on his moral character; they were rash enough to imprecate most fearful curses on themselves in confirmation of their false accusations; and the peculiar curses which they had named suddenly came upon them; one was *consumed by fire*, the second *wasted with some loathsome disease*, the third, being alarmed into confession by the terrible fate of his two accomplices, and visited with compunction and remorse, wept himself *blind*—the curse which he had invoked. But, although the holy man was thus wonderfully vindicated in the sight of his church, which indeed had never given heed to the calumnies of his accusers, he could not endure the severe shock, but, availing himself of this opportunity of embracing a solitary life, which he had long pined for, he retired from the direction of the church, and hid himself so effectually that no one could discover his retreat.

learned author of that Essay was sure to exhaust the subject; and I cannot help fearing that he has said more than

can with safety be advanced, not in defence of them generally, but in support of particular alleged miracles.

It was judged necessary in this emergency to appoint him a successor, and the bishops of the neighbouring churches proceeded to elect Dius to the vacant office¹; Germanis and Gordius followed next in order, when, during the presidency of the latter, Narcissus again appeared, and was reinstated in his former dignity by universal consent. He was considerably advanced in years, when he was warned in a vision to call Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, to a participation in the episcopal government of his diocese. This prelate had come to Jerusalem, "both to offer his prayers there, and to visit the holy places²," for pilgrimages date as far back at least as this time, and most of the eminent fathers of this century had visited the sacred localities.

It was this bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, who, conjointly with Theoctistus of Cæsarea, the most approved and most famous of all the prelates in Palestine, admitted Origen³ to the order of priesthood; an act which certainly involved a breach of ecclesiastical discipline, and was no small injury to Demetrius of Alexandria, in whose church he had served as catechist, which might justly excite his indignation; but as Eusebius appears to approve of the conduct of the Palestine bishops in this matter, it would be scarcely safe to pronounce judgment upon a question of such moment, without far more light than we can have on the subject.

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. ix.

² Ibid. ix.

³ Ibid. viii. See the note of Valerius, cap. xxiii. I will only remark that the apologist of Origen was scarcely likely to deal fair measure to his opponents. There were probably, as

in most quarrels, faults on both sides; Origen must have been more than mortal not to have been puffed up with his popularity:—Demetrius, not to have regarded with jealousy the celebrity of his learned and laborious catechist.

The friendship which Alexander contracted with Origen on this occasion was kept up by means of correspondence, and Eusebius has preserved to us an extract from a letter of the former, to "his most excellent lord and brother," which informs us that he was also on terms of intimacy with two other great lights of the Egyptian church—"the truly blessed Pantænus, his master, and the honoured Clemens, his master, who also profited him much¹." And it was an interesting token of respect and affection in the latter, exhibiting one of those traits of courteous consideration, which refresh us so frequently in the pages of the Church's early history, that he should dedicate his "Ecclesiastical Canon, a work against those who judaized," to bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, whose flock would be most in danger from the error which he therein combated, and whose hands and heart would require to be strengthened, and his testimony confirmed, by another and so able a witness.

For many years did Narcissus and his coadjutor continue in the joint administration of the church of Ælia, until the former had attained the very advanced age of a hundred and sixteen, an age at which he could serve the church more effectually by his prayers and exhortations to charity and loving agreement, like St John at Ephesus, than in the more active duties of his office, which he delegated entirely to his junior².

One work of Alexander, by which he conferred a lasting benefit on the Church, and merited the gratitude of all posterity, must not be passed over in silence; the erection of a library at Jerusalem, from the materials of which Eusebius drew so largely for his Ecclesiastical History; especially, it would seem, from the collections of corre-

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. xiv.

² Ibid. xi.

spondence between eminent ecclesiastics, which form so important and interesting a portion of this work, and which the founder of this library had been most careful to preserve³.

How long he administered the affairs of the diocese alone does not appear, since no notice is taken of the death of Narcissus; but it was his privilege to wear on earth a "crown of glory," "a hoary head found in the way of righteousness," in preparation for a martyr's crown. He had been distinguished, many years before, in the persecution under Severus⁴, and was reserved to witness a good confession in the reign of Decius, before the governor at Cæsarea of Palestine⁵. His departure is noted with beautiful simplicity by his brother of Alexandria: "Blessed Alexander, being in prison, there died a happy death⁶."

He was succeeded by Mazabanes, during whose presidency the Churches of the East enjoyed an interval of repose from outward persecution and internal strife; which however was not destined to be of long duration. But this bishop, of whom we know only that he was one of the most eminent prelates of his day⁷, was taken away from the evil to come, and the vacant see was filled by Hymenæus, whose fame was fresh in the days of Eusebius⁸. His name appears second in the list of those eminent champions of orthodoxy who assembled at Antioch in the reign of Aurelian to condemn the heresy of Paul of Samosata, who had lately been appointed to the presidency

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. xiv.

⁴ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. viii. In his Chronicon he places this confession in the 12th year of Severus, the second of the persecution.

⁵ Hist. Eccles. vi. xxxix.

⁶ Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. xxxviii. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μακάριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος, μακάριως ἀνεπαύσατο.

⁷ Ibid. vii. v.

⁸ Ibid. xiii.

of the church in that capital¹. His is the bad notoriety of being the first to broach the blasphemous doctrine revived in these latter days by Socinus, of the simple humanity of our adorable Lord. All previous heresies relating to His Sacred Person had gone to the *denial* of His proper humanity; Paul was the first to call in question His Divinity. The “pestiferous novelties” were condemned, as might be supposed, by universal consent and with extreme horror, and the bishop branded as a renegade “who had denied his Lord and his God, and kept not the faith which he formerly professed;” being as vicious in his life as he was corrupt in his doctrine. After insidious promises of retractation, and various attempts at evasion, in the true spirit of heretical sophistry, he was finally excommunicated² and deprived by the sentence of the synod, which was ratified by an imperial edict; the miscreant having appealed to the pagan power against the authority of the church!

On the death of Hymenæus³, Zambdas entered upon the government of the church of Ælia, and was shortly succeeded by Hermon, the last of those before the Diocletian persecution, an era in the history of Palestine at which we have now arrived; but the circumstances of which, as relating rather to the Church in general, than to Jerusalem in particular, will be but very briefly noticed in these pages.

The peace and prosperity which the Church had for some years enjoyed, had, according to the testimony of Eusebius, fostered a spirit of carelessness and sloth, which loudly called for correction, and the unity of the body of Christ was torn by factions and unholy divisions⁴; add to

¹ Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. xxiv.

² Ibid. vii. xxiii.

³ Ibid. xxxii.

⁴ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. viii. i.

which, we may well suppose that the wrath of the great adversary of the Church would wax the more fierce "because he knew that he had but a short time⁵." It was in the nineteenth year of Diocletian's reign, the three hundred and fifth of the Christian era, that this terrible sifting began⁶. In the month of March, towards the feast of Easter, the first edict was published at Nicomedia, for the total demolition of the churches, for the degradation of such Christians as held any honourable appointments, and for enslaving such private persons as persisted in the profession of the gospel. Shortly after another prescript threw all the prelates of the Church in prison, and subjected to the most cruel tortures such as refused to sacrifice to idols. Then the persecution became general; neither age nor sex was respected, and every refinement of cruelty that malice could invent was practised against the martyr-host. The dreadful enumeration may be spared; the historian, who enters much into detail, declares that no expressions could describe the scenes. The West enjoyed comparative peace throughout, under the mild sway of Constantius and his son in Britain, but the eastern provinces were deluged with blood. Egypt and Palestine were distinguished above all others for the severity of the trial and the constancy of the sufferers; and Eusebius, who was an eyewitness of the persecutions at Cæsarea, has recorded them in a separate work⁷. The tyrant Maximinus presided in person on several occasions at the bloody spectacles in this city⁸.

The proto-martyr was a native of Ælia⁹, but a servant of the church of Scythopolis; nor do we read of any mem-

⁵ Rev. xii. 12.

⁶ Hist. Eccles. viii. ii., &c.

⁷ Martyrs of Palestine.

⁸ Cap. vi.

⁹ See the Passion of St Procopius in a note of Valesius to the martyrs of Palestine, cap. i.

bers of the church at Jerusalem being called to glorify God by their death at this time, except one venerable deacon of the name of Valens, whose knowledge of the holy Scriptures was so perfect that he could repeat whole pages of any part of the sacred volume from memory as accurately as if he had been reading from a book. This grey-haired saint was crowned with martyrdom in company with Pamphilus, a presbyter of the church of Cæsarea¹, whose name is so well known in connexion with his affectionate disciple, who loved to associate it with his own as a surname.

But there is a singular relation concerning one citizen, not of Ælia, but of Jerusalem, which it will be proper to record, for several reasons. During the heat of the persecution, five Egyptians who had accompanied some of their brethren to the mines in Cilicia, while on their return to their own county, were apprehended at the gates of Cæsarea and committed to prison; the chief of these, in his examination before the judge, was questioned as to his name. He had assumed, instead of his pagan name, the appellation of one of the old prophets, to represent, as the historian writes, "that he belonged to the true and genuine Israel of God, those who are Jews inwardly." He was next questioned as to his country. "Jerusalem is my country," was the reply, meaning that Jerusalem of which St Paul speaks, "but Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all;" and "ye are come to mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." The judge, having never heard of such a city, was very inquisitive as to its situation, and tortures were applied to elicit the truth. The courageous martyr persisted in his declaration, and added moreover that "it

¹ Martyrs of Palestinē, cap. xi.

was their country only who were God's worshippers; none but they should enter it, and it was situated eastward towards the sun-rising." No torments could shake his resolution, and he was delivered over to the executioner.

The narrative is instructive as demonstrating, first, how entirely the very memorial of the ancient name of *Ælia* had perished, when it was so strange to the Roman procurator of Palestine, that he thought it must be a city which the Christians were erecting in defiance of the government; and secondly, as proving how fully the Christian's mind was imbued with the persuasion that the earthly type had been superseded by the heavenly reality.

It was under the same idea that shortly after, when the Holy City had been adorned with churches and rendered illustrious as a Christian capital, it was called "the New Jerusalem;" a name by which it is commonly known among church-historians from the period of the emperor Constantine, which will next demand our notice.

The persecution had somewhat abated in violence in the eighth year², owing to the manifest judgments of God on Galerius, who had been chiefly instrumental in instigating his colleagues to these barbarities; and who when visited by a complication of most loathsome diseases, which terminated in his death, recalled these sanguinary edicts. But the effect of this decree was nullified by Maximinus³, who was still unsatiated with blood; and it was not until the tenth year that it wholly ceased. This blessed change was first effected by the successes of Constantine and Licinius against Maxentius in the west, and Maximinus in the east; and the peace of the church was established on a firm basis by imperial edicts proclaiming universal toleration⁴; and

² Hist. Eccles. viii. xvi. xvii.

³ Ibid. ix. i., &c.

⁴ Ibid. x. v.

requiring the restoration of all the lands and property of the Catholic church which had been confiscated in former reigns. The privileges and immunities accorded to the church by the liberality of the first Christian emperor, and the blessed effects which speedily ensued, cannot here be dwelt on; it will be enough to particularize that act which has invested Jerusalem with its chief interest from that time to the present; the recovery¹ of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, and the erection of the Basilica of the resurrection. But it will be necessary to preface the narrative with some preliminary remarks.

It is usual, when several historians differ one from another in their relation of the same event, to endeavour to reconcile the discrepancies, by considering how far the facts related by later writers may be merely amplifications of the earlier statements, and not to reject such additions until they are proved to be inconsistent with the records of the most credible witnesses. It would be difficult to assign any sufficient reason for departing from this mode of proceeding in the present case; and there can be no doubt that, if a matter of only common interest were in question, the various facts recorded by the several historians might be woven into a connected narrative, which would approve itself to all as consistent and harmonious in all points of importance; and this has been done by all writers on the subject until quite modern times; but because it happens to relate to a subject of the most intense interest, because especially the falsification of the facts would ensure a triumph over the whole Church Catholic, therefore it has

¹ It is incorrect to speak of this as a discovery, and is virtually begging the whole question relating to a conti-

nuous tradition. It is represented by Eusebius simply as a recovery, and so I always speak of it.

pleased later writers, who are no friends to catholic truth, to magnify the variations and to set the accounts in the widest possible opposition one to another. It seems strange that it should not occur to them, that as Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others¹, were quite as well informed as we can be as to what Eusebius had written on the subject, that they were in fact following his narrative; therefore it is highly improbable that they would venture, under any circumstances, to contradict his statements, or even to make any important additions without some sufficient warrant; for *they* were not so very far removed from the time of these transactions as to render it impossible for *them* to recover from other quarters some particulars which the earlier writer had failed to record. In any case it can be hardly safe for those who, after so long an interval as fifteen centuries, take upon themselves, with some confidence, to make important alterations in the narrative of Eusebius, to cavil at the additions of those who wrote little more than a century after that historian. For example; Eusebius has most distinctly and repeatedly declared, both in his own words and those of Constantine himself, that the design to recover the Holy Sepulchre originated in the emperor's own mind, from a Divine impulse, and that the design was conceived long before it was carried into execution. A living writer has discovered that it was from beginning to end a work of "pious fraud," and that "it would not be doing injustice to the bishop, Macarius, and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well-laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating

¹ Their dates of the main authorities are as follows: Eusebius, A.D. 337. St Cyril, A.D. 347. St Chrysostom, A.D. 394. St Ambrose, A.D. 395. St Pauli-

nus, and St Sulpicius, and Rufinus, cir. 400. Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, cir. 440.

his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity¹." Now can the author of this shameful calumny, who has not only no authority whatever from antiquity for him—but the express testimony of Constantine and Eusebius against him—can he, with the slightest regard for consistency, imagine that the greater prominence given to St Helena, by the later writers, is irreconcilable with the fainter notice of Eusebius, or that their minuter details on some points are contradictory of this earlier author? Theirs are but *additions*—he has ventured a positive *counter-statement*: let him choose which alternative he will—give up his accusation against the bishop, which would be only charitable, or his objections to the credibility of the narrative grounded on its inconsistencies.

But are the variations from Eusebius so very material? "All the writers of the following century relate, as with one voice, that the mother of Constantine was from the first instigated by strong desire to search out and discover the Holy Sepulchre and the Sacred Cross." Does Eusebius contradict this, or is he altogether silent on the subject? Is there indeed "not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose that the mother of the emperor had anything to do with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, or the building of the church on the spot?" Let it be remembered that the object of Eusebius was to set forth the praises of his imperial patron, during his lifetime and some years after St Helena's death; what more natural than that he should dwell on the part which the emperor had taken in the work, rather than on the acts of

¹ Bib. Res. ii. 80.

² Bib. Res. ii. 14. Mr Newman goes so far as to say that Eusebius "is silent about St Helena's visiting Jeru-

salem." Preface to Fleury, cxlix. Do I misunderstand him, or is it an oversight?

his deceased mother³? Yet he does not obscurely intimate that much of the merit was due to her pious devotion. He records in terms of eulogy her pilgrimage to the holy places, and her veneration for the footsteps of our Saviour, which she there traced; he mentions her erection and dedication of two churches to the God whom she had adored, one at Bethlehem, the other on Mount Olivet; which the emperor soon afterwards adorned most magnificently with costly presents, by which at the same time “he immortalized the memory of his own mother, who had rendered so much good service to mankind⁴.” No doubt these last words will bear many interpretations, but it would at any rate not be forced to suppose that they refer to the main subject of the discourse, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and the erection of the church over the Sacred Cave. The truth would seem to be that the two churches particularly specified as hers⁵ were erected at her own charges, and only adorned by her son, whereas the Church of the Resurrection was built by a grant from the imperial treasury, according to the rescript addressed to Macarius, which Eusebius has preserved⁶. This rescript was written after the success of the attempt to recover the Sepulchre had been made known to the emperor; and as St Helena must have remained some time in Palestine, for the erection and dedication of her two churches, if we may suppose that she was the bearer of the first imperial orders for the

³ See the concession of Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. ii. 15. 16, which is however half retracted in a later publication.

⁴ Vita Const. III. xli. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ φιλοκαλῶς ἐτίμα· τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς, ἣ τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διηκουεῖτο βίῳ, διαίωνίζων τὴν

μνήμην. See also xlii—xlvii.

⁵ Yet these two churches, ascribed to her in the Life of Constantine, are attributed to the emperor himself in the Laudes. ix. The reason is very obvious.

⁶ Ibid. xxx—xxxii.

demolition of the idol fane¹, it may well be imagined that she would be assisting in the operations at Jerusalem with intense interest, and instigating the munificence of her son, who “had granted her power over the imperial treasures, to make use of them according to her own option².”

With regard to the success of these pious endeavours, much more will be said in a subsequent part of this work. According to the representation of the emperor and his historian, the Sacred Cave had been carefully concealed from sight for many years, by a large mound of earth, on the top of which was erected a temple to Venus; nor does their language imply the slightest doubt that, on the demolition of the fane and the removal of the obstructions, the site would be recovered. The emperor's orders were—not that any enquiry should be instituted, not that any search should be made, but simply that the temple should be levelled with the ground, and the earth carried away. This was done, and the Sepulchre came to light. Was it not a reasonable cause of amazement to those who witnessed it, that the pagans, when they sought to obliterate the memory of the spot, should have left the Sacred Cave entire; and that notwithstanding so long concealment, it should come forth to light unharmed, presenting, as it were, a figure of the Resurrection, in its own recovery? and will not this satisfy the strong language of the emperor's letter? Again, true it is that Eusebius does not mention the existence of any tradition of the erection of the temple, but this may be for one of two reasons, either because there was no such

¹ Theodoret alone makes her the bearer of the second letters which followed the recovery. I. xviii.

² See xlvii. ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ θησανρῶν βασιλικῶν παρεῖχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, χρῆσθαι κατὰ προαίρεσιν, κ. τ. λ.

tradition, or because its existence was so well known that it was needless to mention it; that it is asserted as a *fact* does not prove that there was no tradition; and it deserves to be considered, whether it is likely that the emperor, writing of his mere motion from a distance, would instruct Macarius to demolish a certain idol temple, which he specifies, and to clear away the very ground on which it was built, for the express object of recovering the Holy Sepulchre, without some warrant for believing that it did really exist beneath that heap. And if any persons have such large faith as to credit this, there will be yet another question for their consideration, if they be Christians. It is this. If English Christians after a lapse of three centuries can point out the scenes of the sufferings of the martyrs of the Reformation, *e. g.* in "Smithfield," London, and "before Balliol College," Oxford, with no natural or artificial monuments to mark the spots, can it be imagined that the saints of the primitive church could forget in a shorter time the place of HIS SUFFERINGS, so strikingly designated both by the name and nature of the locality—"The place of a Skull," and the "*Sepulchral Cave?*" If the idol fane had not been erected over it, it seems quite impossible that its situation should not be known to the native Christians: if it had, it would, as we are assured it did, preserve the memory of the sacred spot.

Many of the facts of the history have been anticipated in this discussion, and others will be noticed hereafter. It will be sufficient to remark, that in the year following that in which the Nicene Council was held, the emperor found himself at liberty to carry into execution the plan which he had long before contemplated, and to which he had been incited, as he was persuaded, by a Divine impulse. The measures taken for the recovery of the Holy Cave suc-

ceeded beyond all expectation, and no expense was spared to render the church which was erected on the spot worthy of the great event which it was designed to commemorate. An unlimited discretion was left to the bishop, Macarius, for the suitable adornment of the buildings. Workmen were furnished by the president of the province and other imperial officers; while the emperor himself took charge for supplying such marbles and other materials as were judged necessary; and his thoughtful solicitude concerning the most minute details marks the real and heartfelt interest with which he engaged in the undertaking¹. In the first year of the building Macarius died, and was succeeded by Maximus, who was a confessor in the last persecution².

It does not seem necessary to enter into a particular description of these buildings, which, unhappily, have been long since demolished, but the following outline may be interesting. This New Jerusalem is represented by the contemporary historian as being situated "over against" or "opposite to the old city, which had been reduced to ruin³," and here was erected the trophy of our Saviour's victory

¹ See his letter. *Vita Constantini*, III. xxx—xxxii.

² Sozomen, III. xx. Dositheus, II. xl. 1, mentions from Alexander, that he had suffered severe tortures, and lost his right eye in the persecution. This author mentions that Macarius died in the 21st year of Constantine, and that Maximus presided twenty-three years.

³ Not in the ancient city, but ἀντι-πρόσωπος τῇ παλαιᾷ ταύτῃ ἀντικρυς, V. C. III. xxxiii. Imitated by Sozocrates and others. The ruins of the ancient city would plainly shew its extent in those days. Thus Sulpicius

Severus speaks of Jerusalem, at the time of St Helena's visit, as "horrens ruinis," and witnesses to *her* building three churches in the places of the Passion, Ascension, and Nativity, Hist. Sac. II. Even so late as St Jerome's time it is thus spoken of: "portus Sion, . . . quas hodiè cernimus in favillam et cinerem dissolutas," although he had said a little above, "quæ ab Ælio postquam Hadriano, de ruinis et cineribus in Æliam suscitata est." Ep. 86 ad Eustach. Epitaph. Paulæ, Works, IV. Pt. 2, pp. 673, 4, Ed. Bened.



over death. The first care was to adorn the Sacred Cave itself with all imaginable splendour, as the head of the whole work, and magnificent columns and other ornaments were profusely lavished upon it. Immediately to the west of the cave the rocky mountain presented an obstacle to the erection of the buildings in that quarter⁴, so that the church was necessarily placed east of the cave. The Basilica was not united under one roof with the Sepulchre, as is the present Greek church, which must however occupy part of the site of Constantine's magnificent structure, which stood in a spacious court inclosed with porticoes on three sides and paved with polished marble⁵. The church itself was as rich as gold could make it. It was entered by three gates at the east, opposite to which was the place of the holy table, in a recess built in the form of a hemisphere, surrounded by columns with silver capitals, equal in number to the apostles of our Lord⁶. A double cloister adorned the church on either side. The grand entrance to the court was from the east; and the Propylæum was mag-

⁴ This is remarked by Dosithæus. Ἐχει ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος, μόνον τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ, II. i. 7. Which is quite agreeable with fact and with the testimony of Eusebius, who places the Basilica of Constantine to the east of the cave. Those who have visited the convent of St Sabba, and remember the position of that saint's tomb and the church, will understand the arrangement of the sepulchre and church at Jerusalem. I have to thank M. Mouravieff for the illustration.

⁵ The Atrium is described in xxxv.

⁶ xxxvi—xxxix. The language of Eusebius leaves no room to doubt that

the general rule of placing the Holy Table to the east was departed from in this instance. It was placed nearest to the Holy Cave. This is not the case in the present Greek church. It is, as usual, at the east end. As the Βῆμα in the church of St Sophia at Constantinople was also in the form of a hemisphere, (according to Procopius) a sight of this has made the description of Eusebius much more intelligible. It is a subject for deep regret that the treatise of Eusebius on the church at Jerusalem, affixed to his life of Constantine, has not been preserved. See Vit. Const. iv. xlvi.

nificently adorned in a manner calculated to excite the admiration and curiosity of the pilgrim, as he approached the sacred precincts¹.

The venerable Helena, who shares with her son the glory of this undertaking, was not permitted to witness its consummation. Soon after its prosperous commencement, which she encouraged by her presence and forwarded by her prayers, she had set out on her return to Nicomedia². Her whole progress was marked by acts becoming a Christian empress. All who came within her reach experienced her munificence; but especially the poor, the naked, the destitute, excited her sympathy, and were relieved by her bountiful alms. She fed the hungry, covered the naked with garments, set at liberty the captives, released convicts from the mines, befriended the weak against their more powerful oppressors, restored exiles to their homes and families. Constant in her attendance at church, modest and decent in her apparel, and exemplary in her deportment, she scorned not to mix with the vulgar crowd in the meanest chapels of the poorest towns. Such was the person whom modern Christians can pity and despise, whose name they dare to cast out as evil, and to stigmatize in language which it were a sin to repeat:—nothing can excuse her interest in the holy places, and her pious care for the houses

¹ Dr Robinson seems to have entirely mistaken the form of this edifice, when he supposes the hemisphere to have been something in the shape of "a semicircle in front of the whole building," separate from it, and at some distance towards the east. It is evident that the hemisphere must have formed part of the church, for it is said to have reached to the top or

roof of the building. This could have been nothing else than the apse, which was usually called in this as well as in other Greek churches, "the Hemisphere," the upper part being of a hemispherical form, and the lower part lined with columns. Eusebius does not say *a* Hemisphere, but *το ημισφαίριον*, *the Hemisphere*.

² XLIV. xlv.

of God, which she everywhere beautified with splendid ornaments. She was soon after taken to her rest, and magnificently buried at Rome, from whence her remains were transferred to Constantinople, and deposited in the Church of the Apostles.

The Martyrium of the Resurrection was completed in about ten years, and the dedication was kept on the tricennialia of the emperor, in the year 336. He had summoned a council at Tyre for the settlement of a controversy which had arisen in Egypt, and he directed the prelates assembled in that synod to adjourn to Jerusalem to assist at the solemnity. The consequence was, that the festival was honoured with the presence of a large company of the most distinguished prelates, from all the provinces of the eastern empire, and prayers, and praises, and divine discourses suitable to the occasion, occupied the assembled multitude. The consecration was attended by other and not less acceptable sacrifices. Marianus, a tried and highly valued servant of the emperor, had been sent on this occasion to represent his imperial master, and it was his care "to distribute vast quantities of money and a great number of garments amongst the indigent and naked, and amongst an infinite multitude of poor of both sexes, who stood in great need of food and other necessaries." How do these examples of St Helena and her son sanction the oft-repeated remark, that poor-laws were not required when cathedrals and colleges and other religious houses were built and endowed! An age of unexampled destitution, temporal and spiritual, scoffs at sacrifices which it wants faith to imitate.

It would have been well if the Jerusalem Synod had confined itself to the solemn services which attended the

dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and had not taken a step which the bishop was afterwards called upon to retrace, not without some confusion and disgrace. The object of the Council of Tyre had been to consider some calumnious accusations which had been brought against the great champion of the orthodox faith, by his busy enemies¹. St Athanasius had there appeared to answer to the charges; and God's providence had so ordered events that he was enabled to confute them in the most triumphant manner; but the opposite faction was too strong notwithstanding. The truth was to prevail as usual by suffering; its enemies were to be confounded through their temporary success. The bishop of Alexandria, seeing little chance of a just decision where his accusers were to be his judges, after a solemn protest against the proceedings withdrew to Constantinople, and laid his appeal before the emperor, who was unhappily swayed by an influence in the wrong direction². The result was, that the catholic Doctor was banished in disgrace to Treves, in Gaul; the heretical leader received with distinction at the imperial court³. Meanwhile the Jerusalem Synod was prevailed upon by misrepresentation to admit to communion either the heresiarch himself, or a namesake and disciple⁴; while the blessed Athanasius was un-

¹ Socrates, H. E. i. xxviii. &c.

² Ib. xxv. &c.

³ xxxv. xxxvii. The banishment of St Athanasius is represented by Constantine the younger as an act of mercy on the part of his father, to deliver the bishop out of his enemies' hands, who sought his life. Socrates, ii. iii. He adds, further, that it had been his father's intention to recal him,

but he was prevented by death. The latter statement may be true, the former seems scarcely reconcilable with other facts.

⁴ It is difficult to imagine that this Arius was not the arch-heretic. But Valesius denies it; and thinks that he died long before. See note on Socrates, i. xxxiii. and the treatise there referred to.

justly condemned and deposed⁵. He was not re-admitted to communion with this church until after his third expulsion from his diocese, when on his return to Egypt armed with the imperial letters, he passed through Palestine, and was restored by a Synod assembled expressly for that object⁶. Indeed, the bishop of Jerusalem had long since discovered the fraud which had induced him to subscribe the condemnation of that holy man, and so bitterly did he repent of the part he had taken against him, that he refused to be present, in person or by deputy, at the Council of Antioch summoned by Eusebius, who had been lately translated from Nicomedia to Constantinople, and was using all the influence which he possessed against the orthodox faith. But the countenance which Maximus gave to St Athanasius exposed him to the displeasure of the Arian party, which was everywhere dominant in the East, through the opposition of the civil powers to the faith of the Catholic church⁷. It was now his turn to suffer for the truth's sake⁸. He was deposed from his episcopal dignity by Acacius, the successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea⁹, who was entirely devoted to the heterodox, as his predecessor the historian is by some supposed to have been¹⁰; Cyril was appointed in his stead to the church of Jerusalem, but his patron did not allow him to occupy it in peace. He had been supposed to be more favourable to the impieties of Arius than he proved to be, and owed his elevation to this misconception of his real sentiments¹¹. Yet it was some

⁵ So says St Athanasius himself. De Synodis: *μετὰ τὸ ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον, γράφοντες δεῖν δεχθῆναι Ἀρείον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.*

⁶ Socrates, II. xxiv.

⁷ Socrates, II. viii. Sozomen, III. vi.

⁸ Soc. *ibid.* xxxviii.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ See his defence by Socrates. II. xxi.

¹¹ Dositheus, II. xi. 2.

years before that serious dispute arose between the two prelates which led to his deposition. Its circumstances are somewhat involved in obscurity¹, but it appears to have originated in the following manner.

During the prevalence of a grievous famine at Jerusalem, St Cyril had been constrained to dispose of some of the furniture of the church, in order to supply the poor with bread. Among other ornaments was a rich cloth for the altar², which the purchaser, a merchant, afterwards sold to an actress, who wore it in public—according to some accounts, on the stage. The pious donor might reasonably feel aggrieved at the profanation of his sacred gifts; and though the bishop was innocent of the sacrilege, an accusation was preferred against him, and he was summoned to Cæsarea to answer to the charge. He refused to appear, and persisted in his contempt for two years. The grounds for this contumacy are not stated. He evidently interpreted the dignity reserved to the metropolitan see, by the Council of Nicæa, by a different rule from its occupant; and probably regarded the summons as an uncanonical infringement of the honour accorded to the bishop of Ælia by the same canon³. Besides which, Acacius had himself been deposed from his episcopal dignity by a council of orthodox bishops at Sardica, and had retained his seat in

¹ Socrates, II. xl. says that he does not know the ground of the accusation against Cyril. This seems to be supplied by Sozomen, IV. xxvi., but he is not clear. I endeavour to present a connected and consistent narrative from these two historians, aided by Theodoret, II. xxvi.

² It was worthy of Acacius, to represent to Constantius that this was a robe of cloth of gold presented by his

father to bishop Macarius, to be worn at the administration of holy baptism. Theodoret, xxvii., and compare Sozomen, I. c.

³ Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε, καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθείαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ Μητροπόλει ὄντων τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. Can. Con. Nic. Z.

defiance of their authority. St Cyril might not unreasonably question the competency of such a tribunal to take cognizance of his offences. The irritating dispute concerning supremacy was still further embittered by serious doctrinal differences, and in the end St Cyril was deposed by the Metropolitan. He felt justified in appealing to a higher court; and although he has subjected himself to the charge of departing from the ecclesiastical canon in this conformity to the practice of secular suits, yet he was perhaps justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case; and the precedent was frequently followed in subsequent ages. He submitted at least to the sentence pending the decision, and withdrew first to Antioch, and afterwards to Tarsus, where he was received into communion by the bishop Silvanus, whose flock he edified by his wholesome discourses; nor did the remonstrances made to Acacius, who followed him even to Cilicia with his persecution, prevail to silence him.

On the assembling of the Council of Seleucia, he presented himself there for trial, but his accusers, though frequently summoned, refused to appear. He was accordingly reinstated, and Acacius was, in his turn, deposed for contempt. But the court-influence of the heretical party overbore the decisions in favour of the orthodox, and St Cyril was again driven from his see by the decree of an Arian council, assembled by Acacius at Constantinople, to which the emperor gave full effect⁴; nor was he restored until the accession of Julian, who, with feigned liberality, reversed the persecuting edicts of his predecessor, and recalled both the orthodox and Arian bishops from their exile⁵.

⁴ Sozrates, II. xlii.

⁵ He appears, from the interesting | story related by Theodoret, III. xv.,
to have returned first to Antioch with

Soon after his return to Jerusalem he was witness of the impious endeavour to falsify the divine predictions, the ill success and confusion of which he had from the first foreseen and foretold with the greatest confidence¹. This design originated with the emperor, and was not the least artful of his insidious endeavours to uproot the faith of Christ.

The obstinacy of the Jews had involved them in fresh troubles during the reign of Constantius². They had risen in arms at Diocesarea, or Sepphoris, in Galilee; and it was not until they had overrun the whole neighbourhood with fire and sword, that they were subdued, and their city completely demolished by the emperor's cousin Constantius Gallus, the brother of Julian.

Meanwhile their rancour towards the Christians had been no whit abated³ by their misfortunes, nor by the relaxation of the severe laws through the clemency of Constantine. This hostility so recommended them to the apostate, as valuable allies in his attack on the Church, that he was blinded to the certain consequences that must have ensued on their national restoration, which he set himself with all earnestness to effect. But with an especial

St Meletius, and thence to have come to Jerusalem with the courageous young confessor, from whose own mouth the historian had the narrative.

¹ Τότε δὴ ὁ Κύριλλος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἐπίσκοπος τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ κατὰ νοῦν ἐλάμβανεν, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις Εὐαγγελίοις ἐπισφραγίσαιτο πολλοῖς δε προέλεγεν ὡς ἄρα νῦν ἡκεῖ ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον οὐκ ἂν μένοι εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγιον πληρωθήσεται. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. III. xx.

² Socrates, II. xxxiii. This revolt is placed in A. D. 339, by Theophanes, as quoted by Reland, Palest. p. 1000. He adds that the Jews had murdered many Greeks and Samaritans.

³ They are still called in Constantine's letters to the churches, Euseb. V. C. III. xviii., "that most hostile multitude of the Jews." Μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ἡμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου: and so writes Sozomen.

view to falsify the predictions of our Lord⁴, he encouraged them to undertake the re-edification of the temple at Jerusalem, and further granted an immense sum from his exchequer for the purpose⁵. His confidential friend Alypius was set over the work; an infinite quantity of materials was prepared, timber and stones, and bricks and lime; and the work was pressed forward by the zealous Alypius, aided by the governor of the province⁶. The old foundations were opened up, and the building about to commence, when fearful balls of fire breaking forth with irresistible and repeated violence from near the foundations, scorched the workmen and drove them from the spot, until the attempt was finally abandoned⁷. Other circumstances of more minute detail are also related in connexion with this extraordinary event⁸, but what has now been recorded rests on the testimony of an unexceptionable witness, who seems to have been providentially led to preserve the memory of this impious attempt and its signal defeat⁹. "For were infidelity itself, when it would evade the force of evidence, to prescribe what qualities it expected in a faultless testimony,

⁴ Sozomen (v. xxii.) goes fully into the motives. But as Bp. Warburton says, "Christian writers are unanimous" on this subject. Julian, p. 385. See the quotations at the foot of that page from St Gregory Nazianzene, Theodoret, Socrates, &c.

⁵ "Ambitosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum.....instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias procuraverat proprefectus." Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. i.

⁶ Socrates, III. xx. "Rei fortiter

instaret Alypius, juvaretque provincie rector." Amm. Mar. l. c.

⁷ "Metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, facere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente cessavit inceptum." Ibid.

⁸ These have been collected by Mr Newman. Essay on Miracles, clxxv., et seq. A most interesting section, to which the reader is referred.

⁹ Such is Bp. Warburton's view in his admirable work on this subject. Julian, p. 385.

it could invent none but what might be found in the historian here produced¹."

It was soon after this insane attempt that the apostate lost his life in the Persian expedition by a dart from an unknown hand, and in the hour of victory acknowledged himself vanquished by "the Galilean" whom he had so impiously defied². He died in the 32nd year of his age, having reigned only twenty months.

The accession of Jovian, and his avowed attachment to the doctrines of the Church, excited the hopes of the orthodox, which however were not destined to be realized. He held the purple only seven months, and was succeeded in the dignity by Valentinian, who associated his brother Valens with himself in the imperial dignity. The former undertook the management of the western, the latter of the eastern provinces, which were again to endure the misery of an Arian domination, while the other division, as before, enjoyed tranquillity and repose under an orthodox government³.

Whether St Cyril was again disturbed in the possession of his see during these troublous times in which so many of his brethren were driven into exile, does not appear. In the reign of Theodosius he was present in the second general council at Constantinople, where the heresy of Macedonius

¹ In connexion with this the reader may find it interesting and instructive to compare Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. xxiii., and Mosheim, *Ant.* iv. Part I. cap. i. sect. 14, with Dr Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 19. The qualifications of Ammianus Marcellinus are well summed up by the author of Julian, l. c.

² Ἐκεῖνον δὲ γὰρ φασὶ δεξάμενον τὴν

πληγὴν εὐθὺς πληῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ τοῦτο ῥίψαι εἰς τὸν ἄερα καὶ φᾶναι, Με νίκησας, Γαλελαῖε. Theod. iii. xxv. This must, I presume, be one of the "calumnies" or "legends" which, we are told, "may now be *silently* despised:" at least by such writers as Gibbon. Vol. iv. p. 203, n. 99.

³ Socrates, iv. ii., &c.

was condemned, and the Nicene faith reasserted by general consent⁴. In the eighth year of this reign he died, bequeathing to the church a precious legacy of orthodox doctrine, in his admirable catechetical lectures, which together with his sufferings for the maintenance of the faith therein expounded, have entitled him to canonization as a confessor and doctor of the church.

No notice has yet been taken of the luminous cross which is said to have appeared in the heavens at the beginning of St Cyril's presidency; but the story is too interesting to be passed over in silence, and too well authenticated to be lightly rejected as fabulous. The account is given in a letter purporting to be written on this occasion by the bishop of Jerusalem to the emperor Constantius, and is as follows⁵: "During the holy days of Pentecost⁶, at the third hour of the day, in the second year of his episcopate, (May 7th, 351), there appeared a luminous cross of enormous dimensions over the holy Golgotha, extending even to the Mount of Olives⁷: it was extremely brilliant, surpassing the light of the sun; and was seen not by one or two individuals, but by the whole city. It was no passing phenomenon, but continued visible for several hours. The effect on the believers was to inspire them with fear

⁴ Ibid. v. viii. The historian here says that St Cyril had retracted and assented to the "Homoeousian" Creed. But the time of his retraction does not appear. It is evident from his writings that he avoided the *word*, as did many orthodox fathers. It is of course no proof that he denied the *doctrine* involved in it. Dositheus defends his orthodoxy from imputation, II. xi. 2.

⁵ Vid. Sti. Cyrilli Epist. ad Const.

ch. iv.; and on the genuineness of the letter, the authorities referred to in Mr Newman's Essay, cxlviii. n. o. I adopt his words in the text.

⁶ Fleury remarks that this expression does not signify the days following Whit-sunday, but the interval between Easter and Pentecost, according to the then mode of reckoning. *Histoire*, Lib. XIII. cap. v.

⁷ It is said to have been five stadia in length, and of proportionate width.

mingled with joy : the churches were thronged not only by Christian worshippers, but by Jewish and heathen candidates for the sacrament of initiation, convinced of the truth of the church's faith by this symbol of their salvation in the heavens." Men are very inadequate judges of the secret purposes of the Almighty, albeit they do take upon themselves to determine with some confidence under what circumstances He shall manifestly interfere with the order of the universe which His wisdom has been pleased to establish ; as if it were not far more rational, not to say more reverent, to expect that in the depths of His counsels some occasions might be found which we are wholly incompetent to appreciate. Without pretending then to fathom the reasons of this phenomenon, a word may be said of the historical evidence, which it is properly within the province of human reason to estimate and examine.

The genuineness of St Cyril's letter has been questioned by later critics, though without good reason ; for the story does not rest exclusively on his testimony, but is supported by all the evidence that any occurrence of that date can be expected to shew. It is recorded not only by three historians¹, the general credibility of whose narratives is universally admitted, but it is further noted in two ancient chronicles². The variations of these writers are exactly such

¹ Socrates, II. 28, apud fin. ; Sozomen, IV. 5 ; Philostorgius apud Photium, III. 26. The narrative of Sozomen (A.D. 440) agrees entirely with that of St Cyril given above, to whose letter he refers. Socrates, writing at the same time, is more brief and obscure. He says that the sign appeared in the east, when Constantius was entering Antioch, but leaves it uncertain

to whom it appeared. Philostorgius says that it appeared at Jerusalem, and was seen by the conflicting armies of Constantius and Magnentius, and adds, that the cross was surrounded by a rainbow.

² The Chronicle of Idacius says that this took place on the 3rd of the calends of February, on the 28th of the month, but the Alexandrian Chronicle,

as would indicate that their information was derived from independent sources, and so would serve to corroborate, rather than to invalidate, the proof of the main outline of the history³.

St Cyril was succeeded in the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem by John, the second of that name, who is chiefly known to history by the representations of Epiphanius and St Jerome⁴, with whom he was at variance on points both of discipline and of faith. It is no pleasing task to expose the infirmities of great and good men, as were the venerable bishop of Cyprus and the learned monk of Bethlehem; but an impartial judge can scarcely fail to determine, even from their own writings, that the bishop of Jerusalem was treated by them with less consideration than was due to his office. Indeed, the first act of hostility appears to have been a clear invasion of his diocesan jurisdiction, unjustifiable by the ancient canons, which had determined the limits of such authority. This was the ordination of St Jerome's brother Paulianus, for the service of the monastery at Bethlehem. This ordination was performed by Epiphanius, then on a visit in the country, in a convent situated within the diocese of Eleutheropolis, which was the bishop's defence, when accused of a violation of the canon by John of Jerusalem. But the plea appears insufficient,

agreeably with St Cyril, &c., refers it to the nones of May, about the day of Pentecost. See Valesii Annot. in Socrat. l. c.

³ I can as little explain or question the fact, as I can the following. On the morning after the bombardment of Acre in the year 1839, before sun-rise, coruscations, in the form of hieroglyphics, were seen by the crews of the English vessels over the mountains to

the east of that town. In the year preceding, a dark cross was observed, for many successive nights, in the heavens, at Jerusalem, as if the part were void of stars. I have both these from an eyewitness of undoubted veracity and *sobriety*.

⁴ For this controversy, see St Jerome's Letters, LX—LXII. The first is a translation of Epiphanius.

insomuch as Bethlehem was within the limits of the latter see at that period, and the services of the person ordained were designated to that church. To this indeed it was replied, that the Latin monks were not subject to the eastern bishop¹; but an exemption so inconsistent with the peace of the Church, as subsequent experience has fully proved, was not recognized at that period; nor was it strange that such an invasion of his diocesan rights should excite the indignation of one of warm temperament, as John appears to have been.

But although there seems to be little doubt that the strife between the opposite parties was kindled by this act, yet it was unquestionably much fomented by doctrinal differences, on which St Jerome lays the greatest stress. But his intemperance and evident want of candour towards his adversary, in this as in other cases, will dispose an impartial reader to believe that he has not the full case before him. John was suspected of the errors of Origen; Epiphanius, in a sermon preached in the church of the Resurrection, not only opposed these errors, but reflected in a marked and uncalled-for manner on the bishop, as though he were involved in them. John, nettled, as was not unnatural, at being thus dishonoured in his own cathedral church, by a foreign bishop, present only by sufferance, vindicated himself in a sermon wherein he proposed a summary of orthodox belief. He probably exhibited undue warmth and violence in his gesture and address; but he need not have deserved the imputation cast upon him by

¹ "In monasterio fratrum, et fratrum peregrinorum qui provincie nihil tue deberent." Epiphanius, l. c. This seems to refer to Bethlehem, and to be another plea from that urged by St

Jerome. The Benedictine editors deny the genuineness of the last part of this letter, which they find inconvenient: one would feel disposed to suspect an interpolation here.

St Jerome, as if he had considered one discourse sufficient for a full exposition of the Catholic faith. Indeed, the very charge shews the spirit in which the controversy was carried on; nor can the bishop of Jerusalem be reasonably blamed because he disputed the competency of a Latin presbyter, who claimed exemption from his jurisdiction, to act on a commission of enquiry into his orthodoxy! On the whole, although John's faith does not appear to have been free from all admixture of the errors with which he was charged, and although his sympathy with the heresiarch Pelagius at a later period, is another blot upon his memory, yet the terms of unqualified commendation in which he is mentioned by several eminent contemporaries of unquestioned orthodoxy², allow us ground to hope that the most serious accusations preferred against him were destitute of any solid foundation³.

It will be unnecessary to follow in detail any further the history of the church of Jerusalem, whose annals from this period are chiefly occupied with pilgrimages and the monastic lives of those numberless ascetics who had fixed their residence in the neighbourhood of the Holy City. Something however must be said on both these subjects.

From the period of its adornment by Constantine, Jerusalem had become, in a greater degree than before, an object of religious attraction to all Christendom. It was not to be expected that all the pilgrims would be actuated by a spirit of true devotion: many would follow the prevailing

² e. g. Anastasius of Rome and St John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St Basil of Seleucia, may be likewise mentioned.

³ He is charged with having countenanced or connived at the destruction

of the monasteries at Bethlehem, by the Pelagians. The interference of Innocent the First, of Rome, on this occasion, was a prelude to the aggression of the Papacy of later times.

fashion from motives of curiosity or the desire of diversion ; and the spirit of the world and of the flesh would vitiate and corrupt the morality of the city subject to a continual influx of visitors of every description. The following passages from two celebrated fathers of the fourth century, will shew how widely the abuse had spread, when they applied all their eloquence to correct it.

St Gregory of Nyssa¹, who had proceeded to Jerusalem after the Council of Antioch, (A.D. 370), with the charitable design of pacifying the churches, distracted by the Arian controversy, had there witnessed the grievous scandals to which the rage for pilgrimages had given occasion, and on his return to his diocese he addressed a letter to a Capadocian priest on this subject. He sets forth that the sacred writings do not reckon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem among the number of good works, and that such journeys conduce not to virtue, and make nothing to heaven : that purity and sanctity are required both of men and women, which are best promoted by the study of wisdom in retirement and solitude : that many duties are neglected in the bustle and confusion of a hasty journey, which is especially dangerous to female modesty ; for extreme licentiousness prevails in many hostelries and cities of the East, which corrupt the ears, the eyes, and the heart. If Jerusalem were more enriched with grace than other countries, it might be expected that its inhabitants should be less wicked ; but, so far as he had observed, the very contrary was the fact ; there was no place more addicted to crimes of the blackest dye. Why then, it might be asked, had he resorted

¹ I here follow Fleury, *Histoire du Christianisme*, Lib. xvii. cap. xlix., and Poujoulat's *Histoire de Jerusalem*,

Vol. III. p. 7. The letter is contained in Vol. II. of St Gregory's works.

thither? To reform the churches of Arabia, and to converse with the chiefs of the holy churches of Jerusalem. But the journey had been conducted without neglect of religious duties, and was not necessary for the increase of his faith. Before he saw Bethlehem he believed that the Son of God had assumed flesh in the womb of a virgin; he believed the resurrection before he saw the Holy Sepulchre; and confessed the glorious ascension before he saluted the Mount of Olives. One only thing he had learnt on the journey, that his own country was far more holy than foreign lands. It is not by change of clime that we shall come to God, but rather He will come to us, where-soever we be, if our soul be made meet for His habitation; while, on the contrary, if with hearts full of iniquity we fly to Golgotha, to Mount Olivet, or the Holy Sepulchre, we shall still be as far from Christ as though we had never known the principles of the faith. "My friend," he concludes, "persuade your brethren not to quit Cappadocia for Jerusalem, but to go out of their bodies, that they may be joined to the Lord....The Divine Spirit 'bloweth where it listeth,' and they who exercise firm faith shall partake of the gifts of grace according to the measure of faith, and not by a visit to Jerusalem."

And is this really one of those ancient doctors who are so frequently and freely charged with superstitious ignorance for their veneration for the sacred localities, and who, it is represented, took such pains to palm upon others the inventions of their own imagination, for filthy lucre's sake? But it may be supposed that St Gregory of Nyssa was in advance of his age, and was animated by a more genuine spirit of devotion than his colleagues. St Jerome, the translator of the Onomasticon, the historian of the pilgrimage of St Paula, will be adduced as an instance of doating superstition

in the seclusion of his cave at Bethlehem. But even he may claim to be heard before he is condemned; and his letter to Paulinus¹ will not unaptly follow the above extract from the eastern father: "The city to be sought after and extolled is not that which killed the prophets and shed the blood of Christ, but that which is made glad by the streams of the river, that which is set upon an hill, and cannot be hid; that which the apostle calls the mother of the saints, in which he glories to be a fellow-citizen with the righteous....I dare not confine the Omnipotence of God in so narrow a boundary, nor limit within a certain district Him whom the heavens cannot contain. Believers will be weighed, not by diversity of clime, but by their measure of faith; and the true worshippers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem nor yet on Mount Gerizim; for 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' 'The wind bloweth where it listeth.' 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' After that the fleece of Judæa was dry, and the whole world sprinkled with the heavenly dew, and many have come from the east and from the west, and laid down in Abraham's bosom; from thenceforth God is no more known in Jewry only; His name is great not in Israel alone; but the voice of the apostles has gone forth into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world. The place of the cross and of the resurrection may be profitable to those who take up their cross daily, and rise with Christ, and shew themselves meet for such an habitation; but for those who say, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' they must be re-

¹ St. Hieronymi Epist. No. XLIX. Opera, Vol. IV. Part II. pp. 563, 4. Edit. Bened.

minded of the apostle's words, '*Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.*' An entrance into the kingdom of heaven is open equally from Britain as from Jerusalem; for '*the kingdom of God is within you.*'"

Much more to the same effect follows, which it will be unnecessary to quote. What is here given may suffice to prove how very unjust are the insinuations of many modern writers against the fathers of that age—how little they understand or appreciate the spirit by which they were influenced. But it should by all means be added, that the whole object of the epistle is to dissuade his friend from removing to Jerusalem, and that the argument which he most strongly urges, and which he appears to know would have the greatest weight is this, that a city crowded, as this now was, by a mixed multitude of both sexes, from all parts of the world, and exhibiting, as did other cities, all that could minister to vanity and folly and sin, all that would serve to counteract the hallowed influences of sacred associations, was not a place best calculated to promote his spiritual advancement, and to draw his heart from earth to heaven.

Surely such passages as these, which are but specimens of innumerable others of like import, will serve to shew that lights as well as shades can be found to rest on the monastic cell of St Jerome, and may encourage the hope that the same may have been the case with those thousands of unknown recluses, who, amid the confusion of the period at which we have now arrived, betook themselves to the deserts and caves of Palestine, to prepare for the coming of the day of Christ, which all around betokened to be near at hand. At the same time, a very slight acquaint-

ance with the lives of these solitaries will suffice to prove that there was something radically wrong in the ascetic discipline as practised by them, which it would be instructive to investigate and serviceable to expose. The duty and benefit of such exterior bodily discipline as the Bible enjoins and the Church directs, with a view to interior self-government, will be denied by none who have fairly tried it; but the view of these ascetics seems to mistake the *body* for the *flesh*—forgetting that the flesh is the carnal mind, not the earthly vessel, and that apostolic asceticism had respect to the will and conscience, not to bodily infirmities and needs¹. To *spite* the body is not to *rule* it; and its vicious and excessive appetites may be mortified without denying its natural and lawful demands. The aim therefore to macerate the earthen vessel, and the excessive attribution of sanctity to the practice, which forms the essence and foundation of their system, can scarcely be too strongly condemned, as tending to the subversion of Christian liberty and sobriety, to an unhealthy tone of feeling, and to a forgetfulness of the cardinal truths that Christian circumcision is “circumcision of *the heart* ;” and that “to be *spiritually-minded* is life and peace.”

There is, however, a great debt of gratitude due to the most eminent recluses of Palestine for important services rendered to the Church, which it were ungrateful not to acknowledge; namely, the firm uncompromising maintenance of the orthodox faith, when its natural champions were

¹ Acts xxiv. 16: “Herein *do I exercise myself* (*δοσκῶ*), to have always a conscience void of offence,” &c.: the only passage where the word occurs in the New Testament. The friend who

will recognize the observations in the text as his own, will, I hope, pardon me for borrowing his language to express sentiments common to us both.

silenced for their fidelity. Two remarkable instances of this may serve to exhibit the position of the Church at Jerusalem in the fifth and sixth centuries².

John was succeeded in the episcopal dignity by Praylus, whose mild presidency was marked by natural convulsions, which recalled the times of the apostate Julian. He was followed by Juvenal, who occupied the chair of St James for many years, and took an active part in the great questions which agitated the Church at that period. He was present at the third Ecumenical Council, where he warmly seconded St Cyril of Alexandria, in his opposition to the heresy of Nestorius; his excessive abhorrence of which drove him for a time into the opposite extreme of Eutychian error. He was even present at the "Synod of Robbers," assembled by Dioscorus, at Ephesus, and aided by his countenance to lend authority to proceedings which the Church could not confirm. Being soon convinced of his error, and reconciled to the Church at the Council of Chalcedon, he was shortly called to witness the sincerity of his repentance by confessorship for the truth. The catholic doctrine of the two Natures in the one Person of our adorable Saviour, which had been fully established in the third and fourth General Councils, is matter for faith, not for reason, and therefore, like other doctrines of revelation, unpalatable to the carnally wise. On his return

² In the absence of original authorities, I am glad to avail myself here of *Vies des Pères des Déserts d'Orient*, &c. par le R. P. Michael-Ange Marin; *Histoire de Jerusalem*, &c. par M. Poujoulat; and another by M. Mouravieff, written in Russ, and put within my reach by the great kindness of my friend the Rev. R. W.

Blackmore, (the translator of the "History of the Russian Church," by the same author,) to whom I shall be further indebted in subsequent parts of the present volume. The original authority chiefly consulted by the first of these writers is the monk Cyril, the contemporary biographer of St Euthymius and St Saba.

from the Council of Chalcedon, the patriarch Juvenal found that the minds of his people had been alienated from himself, and from the doctrine in favour of which he had there declared, by the artifices of a monk of evil repute, named Theodosius, who had represented the decisions of the fathers of Chalcedon as at variance with those of the Council of Ephesus. He had succeeded in drawing over to his party the Empress Eudocia, who, after the death of her husband Theodosius the younger, had retired to Jerusalem, and her influence had enlisted on his side a large number of partizans. Juvenal was glad to escape with his life to Constantinople; the monk procured his own election to the vacant see; and then sought to establish himself in his usurped authority by the countenance of that great and good man, who at that time governed the monastic colleges of the deserts of Palestine. This was St Euthymius, with whom neither flattery nor threats could avail to shake the constancy of his profession, nor to recognize as rightful bishop the heretic who had stained his hands with innocent blood. He even exhorted the superiors of the monasteries to withdraw from his schismatical communion, and himself set the example, by retiring to the desert until the pseudo-patriarch was expelled through the interference of the civil power. It would have been well if the moderation of the Emperor Marcian on this occasion had been more commonly imitated; and it is pleasing to know that he had been persuaded to milder counsels than he would otherwise have adopted, by the intercession of the injured patriarch. The imperial rescript addressed to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, while it deprecates compulsory subscription to the orthodox confession, or any attempt to reduce the wanderers to the way of truth by menaces or the sword, declares the emperor's determination to support the orthodox faith, and to remove the scandal

which the violence of Theodosius had occasioned. The rightful patriarch was restored after an absence of twenty months. But the degradation of the heretical bishops who had been consecrated in the interim, and the encyclical letter of an orthodox synod, convoked by Juvenal, would not have secured the peace of the Church, had not the Empress Eudocia, softened by domestic afflictions, been restored to the truth by the earnest persuasion of Euthymius, to whom she was referred by the celebrated Stylite of Antioch. Her return to the orthodox communion influenced a numerous party, and led to the temporary re-establishment of peace in the distracted Church; the disaffected withdrawing to two monasteries, which they founded for themselves, on the independent principle, at Bethlehem and Tekoa. During the short remainder of her life the munificent Eudocia devoted her wealth to works of piety and charity in Jerusalem, where she founded churches¹ and monasteries and almshouses, and rebuilt the wall of the city². On her death her remains were deposited in the large church of St Stephen the Deacon, which she had erected on the supposed site of the death or burial of the protomartyr, a furlong distant from the walls, on the north of the city.

Anastasius, the immediate successor of Juvenal, was disturbed in the possession of the patriarchal dignity by the monk Gerontius, who was in his turn degraded on the accession of the orthodox emperor Zenon. Martyrius, a disciple of the great Euthymius, was next elected to the vacant chair, which he occupied eight years, and was followed by Sallustius

¹ M. Mouravieff says: "The beautifying of the cathedral church at Bethlehem is ascribed to her, and it is not improbable that she also erected the grotto of Gethsemane. We may gene-

rally refer to her all those buildings that have been inconsiderately ascribed to the Empress Helena." Cap. ix. Vol. I. 142.

² Evagrius, H. E. I. xxii.

for seven years. On his death, Elias, another disciple of Euthymius, was promoted, during whose presidency the Euty-chian storm, which had been only lulled for a time, burst out again with increased violence. During his occupation of the throne he actively promoted monasticism in and about Jerusalem, and undertook the erection of several churches, among which the Church of the Purification, now the Mosk of Aksa, apparently owes its commencement to him¹. He was interrupted in his undertakings by a sentence of banishment, for refusing to receive the synodal letters of Severus, a Euty-chian monk, who had intruded into the see of Antioch, and was countenanced in his usurpation by the emperor Anastasius. He died in exile at Ailah (Elath) on the Red Sea².

But the designs of the heretics were signally defeated by the firmness of St Saba, who had even succeeded, for a time, in allaying the emperor's displeasure against the orthodox patriarch. This celebrated abbot, whose memory is still preserved by the monastery which he founded in the wildest part of the rocky desert, to the west of the Dead Sea, was no sooner informed that the envoys of Severus had arrived with an armed force at Jerusalem to compel Elias to receive his letters, than he hastened to the city, where having convoked several superiors and monks with the people of Jerusalem to the Church of Calvary, he publicly anathematized Severus and all who would communicate with him, even in the presence of the officers and soldiers who had been sent to enforce the imperial mandate. Subsequently, on the banishment of Elias, and the substitution of John,

¹ The church was completed and the whole design enlarged by the addition of hospitals, &c. by the Emperor Justinian, at the instigation of St Saba; and will demand a full notice in the

Second Part of this volume. There can, I think, be no doubt of their identity.

² For this city, see Robinson's Bib. Res. i. 250, &c.

who had pledged himself to embrace the Eutychian heresy, the holy abbot prevailed so far as to alter his determination, and persuaded him to retract his wicked promise. This was no sooner reported to the emperor than he sent an officer named Anastasius to Jerusalem, and the patriarch was thrown into the public prison. Being released shortly after, he immediately sent to St Saba to inform him of the position of affairs, and assistance was promptly supplied: ten thousand monks from various monasteries hastened to the city, where they assembled in the church of St Stephen, the cathedral church of the Resurrection being incapable of receiving so vast a multitude. Here, in the presence of the imperial officers and of the Christian congregation, the patriarch ascended the ambon, supported on one side by St Saba, the superior of the Anchorites, and on the other by Theodosius, the chief of the Cenobites, and amid the acclamations of the people the three fathers with one voice anathematized Nestorius, Eutyches, and Severus of Antioch, and all who refused to receive the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. These proceedings served but to irritate the emperor, whose resentment would have been felt by the three champions, had he not been deterred from more violent measures by a firm though respectful remonstrance of the whole body of monks³. They thus succeeded in maintaining the orthodoxy of the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, until the accession of Justin relieved the Church from the tyranny of an heretical emperor; but the Monophysite controversy has been a fruitful source of discord in the eastern churches from that time until the present day.

The revival of the errors of Origen at this period added to the confusion of Palestine in the sixth century⁴; but the

³ Great part of this interesting memorial to the Emperor Anastasius is given by M. Marin, *Vies des Pères*,

Lib. vii. cap. xix.

⁴ For these troubles see Fleury's Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxxiii. lii. and liii.

annals of the Holy City furnish little of public interest or importance, except a synod assembled by the patriarch Peter, at the instigation of his brethren of Rome and Constantinople, in which the decrees of the fifth Ecumenical Council were confirmed, and the prevailing errors condemned with great unanimity, by the bishops of the three Palestines¹.

At the commencement of the seventh century a cloud gathered over the church of Jerusalem, which was to prove a forerunner of the thick darkness which shortly after fell upon it, and has enveloped it during that long night through which the light has scarcely glimmered in her candlestick.

By the victorious career of Chosroes the Second, from the banks of the Tigris to the Hellespont and the Nile, the limits of the Persian kingdom were for a time extended as far west as in the days of its ancient renown, and Judæa again owned the dominion of a Magian monarch². Jerusalem was taken, apparently without a struggle, when the usual horrors attendant on the sacking of a city by a barbarian army were enhanced by the malice of the Jews, who to the number of 26,000 had followed the Persians from Galilee, to gratify their vengeance by the massacre of the Christians, and the demolition of their most sacred churches. They were amply glutted with blood : no fewer than 90,000 of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, fell victims to their indiscriminating hatred. The churches of Gethsemane, and that erected by the Empress Helena on Mount Olivet, being without the walls, first became a prey to their fury : then the Basilica of Constantine, the churches of

¹ For the authorities and a general view of the condition of Jerusalem during the sixth century, the reader may consult the "Biblical" Researches, Vol. II. pp. 26—33.

² For the expedition of Chosroes the English reader may consult Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. xlv. I follow Eutychii *Annales*, p. 213, not having the contemporary writers within reach.

Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre were demolished, the last two being burnt to the ground.

The greater part of the city was also destroyed. The sacred vessels³ and other treasures, accumulated in the churches, which had attracted the avarice of Nushirvan⁴, were transferred to the coffers of his grandson; and the patriarch Zacharias, with numerous other captives, accompanied the wood of the true Cross in its journey to the distant capital of the conqueror.

But the providence of God had prepared a home and a friend for the exiled patriarch in the land of strangers. He was redeemed and entertained, with many of his flock, in the house of the Christian consort of Chosroes, the daughter of the Emperor Maurice⁵, who also guarded the sacred Cross against the desecration to which it might have been exposed from the zeal of the idolaters. Zacharias ended his days in the land of his captivity, and the widowed church continued for fifteen years without a head⁶.

Meanwhile its desolations had awakened the commiseration and excited the zeal of Modestus, superior of the monastery of Theodosius, who travelled throughout Palestine and Syria to collect funds for the restoration of the sacred buildings. He was warmly seconded in his pious undertaking by the bountiful assistance of John the alms-giver⁷,

³ Among these were the sacred vessels of the Jewish temple, captured by Titus, and subsequently by Genserich, and restored to Jerusalem by Justinian after their recovery by Belisarius. See above, cap. ii.

⁴ Procopius de Bell. Pers. Lib. II. cap. xx. The expedition of Belisarius forced him to retreat over the Euphrates, before he could execute his design.

⁵ So says Eutychius, p. 215, who

calls her Mary; other writers give her name as Sira. Gibbon, l. c. n. 111.

⁶ Eutych, l. c. Other writers make Zecharias return to Jerusalem. See Fleury, Lib. XXXVII. cap. xxxiv.

⁷ The enumeration of the gifts is interesting, as characteristic of the times and of the worthy patriarch's bounty. They consisted of 1000 pieces of gold, 1000 pounds of iron, 1000 sacks of wheat, the same of pulse, 1000 barrels of dried fish, as many

patriarch of Antioch, who had already most liberally received and entertained such of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as had succeeded in effecting their escape from the swords of the Persians and Jews.

But the principal treasure of the church of Jerusalem still remained in the power of the fire-worshippers, nor was it recovered until the last of those glorious campaigns in which the Emperor Heraclius rolled back the tide of war into the heart of the Persian kingdom, and humbled the pride of the haughty Chosroes¹. The year after his well-earned triumph at Constantinople, the Christian emperor repaired in person to Jerusalem, carrying with him the true cross, which had remained inviolate during the captivity, the seals of the chest in which it was contained having continued unbroken. On the 14th of September, A. D. 629, a day still marked in the English calendar, and whose anniversary is celebrated with especial solemnity in other churches of the west and east, Heraclius, having laid aside his royal apparel, entered the gates of the Holy City, clothed in mean garments, and barefoot, carrying on his shoulder the precious wood on which the World's Redemption had been accomplished. It is only consistent in an infidel to sneer at the spectacle of the victorious hero of the Persian war bowing his neck to the yoke of the crucified²; but the last appearance of an emperor of the east in the Holy City, which was soon to be wrested from his dominions for ever, might have been con-

skins of wine, 1000 Egyptian labourers, accompanied with a modest letter, asking pardon for sending nothing worthy of his Lord, and expressing his desire himself to come and assist as a common mason in the restoration. Eutych. Ann. II. p. 218. Fleury, XXXVIII. xi. Modestus, who was called a second Bezaleel, or Zerubbabel, was afterwards appointed Patriarch by

Heraclius, Eutych. Ann. II. p. 249. He only occupied the see nine months, and on his death it remained vacant six years, until the appointment of Sophronius.

¹ Gibbon's Decline and Fall, cap. xlv.

² See a truly characteristic passage in Gibbon, I. c. near the end of the chapter.

templated with satisfaction by the believer, had he not sullied the triumph of his self-abasement by a sanguinary retaliation on the Jews, to which he was instigated by the fears or by the fury of the Christians, who had been threatened with extermination in a conspiracy of that fanatical people, which was happily detected in time to prevent the execution of their terrible purpose³. This had occurred at a time when the danger which threatened the capital had left Palestine unprotected; but however this new evidence of their relentless spirit of animosity against the Christians might have justified severe precautionary measures against the Jews, it could not palliate nor excuse the vindictive massacre or dispersion of the whole people; the guilt of which was enhanced by the additional crime of perjury, for which the fastings of the Greeks could ill atone⁴. The spirit exhibited on this occasion too clearly proves that the heavy chastisement inflicted by the Persians had not accomplished its work on the church of Jerusalem, and another furnace was prepared for its debased gold, in which we may hope that the process of purification is still going forward.

³ Eutyck. Ann. 221, 222.

⁴ See the account in Eutyck. Ann. 242—249.





CHAPTER IV.

JERUSALEM DURING THE MAHOMMEDAN DOMINATION.

IN the year that the Emperor Heraclius set out on the first of his victorious campaigns against Chosroes, an Arabian adventurer, driven as an impostor from his native city of Mecca, hardly escaped with his life to Medina; and in the year that the emperor celebrated his triumph at Jerusalem, the son of Abdullah returned at the head of 10,000 followers to the city from which he had been expelled, forced his enemies to submission, demolished the idols of the Caaba, and changed the religion of Arabia. His successes in his own country were but a prelude to the victories which were

to attend the arms of his generals throughout their irresistible career, wherein, in less than a century, they subjugated to the Prophet and his khaliphs, or successors, the whole of the Persian, and the fairest and the most fertile provinces of the Roman empire, including Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Spain; a vast extent of territory comprehended in the three continents of the old world, and stretching from India to the Atlantic Ocean¹.

The Roman army had first heard the war-cry of the Arabs, and experienced the lightning flashes of Kaled, the "Sword of God," in the battle of Muta, during the lifetime of Mahomet, and the first act of the first khaliph was to raise an army for the invasion of Syria, which was placed under the command of Abu Obeidah, with whom Kaled was afterwards associated, having been recalled from the Persian war². The wild enthusiasm of the disciples of the Koran supplied the place of military tactics, while the corruptions and divisions of the Christian Church, loudly calling for Divine judgment, armed them with a power which nothing could withstand. The fall of Damascus and other important cities of Syria, above all the obstinate and decisive battle of Yermuk, which had crushed the Roman power in the country, left the generals the option of proceeding deliberately to the reduction of the cities which still held out, in such order as they pleased. Gaza had been already reduced by Amrou, the future conqueror of Egypt. By the direction of the khaliph the siege of Jerusalem was resolved

¹ For the rise and progress of Islâm, the English reader may consult Prideaux's *Life of Mahommed*, Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, the Abbé de Marigny's "*History of the Arabians*," or the shorter notices of Gibbon's *De-*

cline and Fall, l. li. White's *Bampton Lectures* with the copious notes present a good view of the genius of the religion.

² *Eutychiei Annales*, II. 258.

on, and Yezid-Ibn-Abu-Sophian was sent forward with a detachment of 5000 Arabs, Abu Obeidah himself brought up the main body only eleven days later, and was shortly joined by Amrou and his victorious troops from the south. When the city was thus invested it contained 12,000 Greeks and 50,000 natives¹. Sophronius, who then held the patriarchate², was a dignitary equal to the emergency, and holds a conspicuous place in the Christian and Mahometan annals of these events, as the mediator of peace and war. The summons to surrender is characteristic: "In the name of God, merciful and gracious! from Abú-Obeidah-Ibn-Jirah to the Christians of the people of Ælia, health! and to all who follow the right way, and believe in God and in His Prophet! To come to the point. For my part, I beg you to bear witness that there is no God but God, and Mahomed is the Apostle of God, and that the moment of judgment will come beyond all doubt; and that God will raise men from the dead. And if you will stand to this, your blood is sacred unto us as well as your property, and your children, and you shall be to us as brothers: but if you refuse, I will bring down upon you a people more earnest in their love of death than you in the drinking of wine, or eating of hog's flesh; nor will I ever pass away from you, please God, until I have killed your warriors, and made captive your children³."

¹ "Jalál-Addín, History of the Temple at Jerusalem, translated by Reynolds," p. 157. This collection of testimonies, to which I shall have occasion to refer constantly, would be more valuable if it were less diffuse and verbose.

² This dignitary had before distinguished himself as an author on the orthodox side of the Monothelite contro-

versy, which then troubled the Church. His predecessor, Modestus, had occupied the see only nine months; then was an interregnum of six years. Eutychiei Annales, II. p. 249. And on the death of Sophronius, after four years, the see was vacant for twenty-nine years. Eutychiei Annales, II. pp. 270. 290. 326.

³ Jalál-Addín, p. 158.

The proposals were rejected by the inhabitants, who resolved to try the fortune of war, and made a vigorous resistance for four months, during which the Arabs suffered severely both from the sallies of the besieged and the inclemency of the season; for it was then winter⁴. At length, despairing of succour from the discomfited troops of the empire, and convinced of the obstinacy of the Saracens, the patriarch advanced to the walls, and invited the commander to a parley. His attempt to terrify the infidel by threats of the Divine vengeance for the desecration of the Holy Land was skilfully parried by Abu-Obeidah, who professed equal veneration for the sacred city, as the mine of the prophets, whose sepulchres it contained; and claimed a better title to its possession than the Christians could have, inasmuch as it was from it that Mahommed had commenced his nocturnal journey to the ninth heaven; and he finally declared his resolution not to withdraw from the siege until God delivered it into his hands, as He had delivered other places before it. At length the patriarch consented to capitulate, but refused to treat of terms with any subordinate officer, and required the presence of the Khalif himself; binding the people by an oath to surrender the city, on fair terms, into his hands⁵. A messenger was dispatched to Medina, and after some hesitation on his part, and conflicting opinions in his council, Omar resolved to set out for the scene of action. His preparations were soon complete: a modern Bedouin is not more economical in his wardrobe and equipage than was the great "Commander of the Faithful." A pair of saddle-bags, filled with the commonest provisions, slung before him on the camel, a large leathern bottle, and a wooden platter behind, were all his equipment; and with these he

⁴ Ockley's *Saracens*, i. 214.

⁵ *Jalál-Addín*, p. 161.

entertained his fellow-travellers at their frugal meal in their journey through the desert. On his progress he set in order what he found amiss in the villages through which he passed, administered even-handed justice without prejudice or partiality, and set his companions an edifying example in the punctual discharge of the prescribed duties of religion¹.

Coming in sight of the Holy City, he exclaimed: "Allāh Acbar! (God is great!) O God, give us an easy conquest!" He fixed his head-quarters at a village named Jabit, and there received a deputation from the Christians, with whom he concluded articles of capitulation, which are interesting as "a model for capitulation of every Christian city²." "In the name of God, merciful and compassionate! The following are the terms of capitulation which I, Omar, the servant of God, the commander of the faithful, grant to the people of Ælia. I grant them security for their lives, their possessions, and their children; their churches, their crosses, and all that appertains to them, in their integrity, and their lands, and to all of their religion. Their churches shall not be impoverished, nor destroyed, nor injured; neither their endowments nor their dignity; and nothing of their property. Neither shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem be exposed to violence for following their religion; nor shall one of them be injured; nor shall one of the Jews be impoverished in Ælia. And it is stipulated with the people of Ælia, that they pay a tribute according to the tribute paid by the people of the other cities³. Moreover, the Greeks and robbers shall depart therefrom, with security for their life

¹ Ockley, i. 217.

² Jalāl-Addīn, p. 168.

³ Five dinars were imposed upon the richest class; four upon the next;

three upon the next. Very old men, or very young children, paid nothing. Ibid. p. 158.

and property⁴ . . . And whoever there be of the people of the land who wish to reside therein, upon them is the same tribute as upon the people of Ælia. And whosoever wishes to go with the Greeks, or to return to his land, from him shall be taken nothing of the stores of his magazines. And of all this may God be the Ratifier! and be this the covenant of his Apostle (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God!) and the covenant of the orthodox khalifs, if they yield possession." Other conditions are added by various authorities, allowing the free exercise of their religion to the Christians, but forbidding them to obtrude it upon the Musselmans in any public exhibition, or to place obstacles in the way of any who chose to embrace Islâm⁵.

These preliminaries being arranged, the gates were thrown open, and the khalif was met at his entrance by the patriarch. The salutation of the latter might have been more courteous, though his reception of such a conqueror could scarcely have been less sad. The khalif, dressed in a raiment of camel's hair, made no very imposing appearance; practising in his own person the moderation which he preached to others, as the only substantial foundation of the greatness of the Musselmans. When Sophronius saw him, he exclaimed: "Verily, this is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!" and as he went he bewailed the affliction of the Christians with many tears⁶. But the satisfaction of the emir on discovering that he had been the subject of prophecy under any description, could not but be great in the absence of all prophetic or miraculous testimony of the mission

⁴ "Three days were assigned for their departure; the safe conduct and time being null and void with respect to any one who should remain after

the expiration of that term." Ibid. p. 157.

⁵ Ibid. p. 172. Ockley, i. p. 223.

⁶ Theophanes, Chorograph. p. 281.

of Mahommed, and would no doubt excuse the tears of the patriarch¹.

The strict observance of the letter of the treaty, and the thoughtful consideration with which he provided against its violation by his followers, redound to the credit of the khalif, and serve to prove that the high integrity of his character has not been over-estimated by Mahommedan writers. He proceeded, under the conduct of the patriarch, to the Church of the Resurrection². While there the Moslem's hour of prayer arrived, and Omar expressed a wish to pray. "O Commander of the faithful," said the patriarch, "pray here!" "I will not pray here," replied the khalif. He was conducted to the Church of Constantine, in the middle of which a mat was spread for his accommodation: "Neither will I pray here," he repeated. He then went out of the church to the door facing the east, and there prayed alone on the steps. Then sitting down he enquired: "Knowest thou, O patriarch, why I would not pray within the church? Had I done so, you would have lost your right in it, for the Moslems would have taken it from you after my death, saying, Here prayed Omar." Not satisfied with this precaution, but fearing lest his act, as it was, might be drawn into precedent, he asked for paper, and wrote an order that the Moslems should not pray even on the steps except one at a time, and should not be called to prayer there, as at their own mosks. This writing he delivered to the patriarch.

The khalif next performed his devotions at the Tower of David, and then requested to be conducted to the "Mosk

¹ See Ockley's *Saracens*, pp. 215, 16, for the very probable conjecture that the Mahommedan story of a prophecy among the Christians relating to Omar's

conquest, was grounded on this exclamation of the patriarch.

² Eutychiei *Annales*, Vol. 11. p. 285, 6.

of David." The patriarch might guess that the Temple of Solomon was intended by this strange designation; but the site had been so long neglected that the memory of it was well nigh lost, which will account for the hesitation which followed³. He conducted Omar and his attendants to the Church of the Resurrection, and said, "This is the Mosk of David." Omar considered attentively, and replied: "Thou liest! for the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessing and peace of God!) described to me the Mosk of David, which does not answer to this." The same objection was repeated at the Church of Zion, and at other churches in the city. At length he came near to a gate called the Gate of Mahomed. Water was running down the steps, and through the street which led to the city-gate, so that great part of the stairs were under water⁴. Then said the patriarch to him: "Thou canst go no further except by crawling on hands and knees." The khalif, nothing daunted, proceeded thus through the water-channel, until he came to a level space at the top of a hill, where there were ruins⁵. Here he looked about him and contemplated for a while; then he said: "Allah Acbar! By Him in whose hands is my life, this is that which the Apostle of God (on whom be the peace and blessing of God!) described to me."

³ I make out the best story I can from Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 286, 289; from the various and often conflicting traditions preserved by Jahl-Addin, in his History of the Temple of Jerusalem, pp. 176—190 of the Translation; and from the Arabic History of Jerusalem, translated in *Fundgraben des Orients*, Vol. II. p. 160.

⁴ I here regret very much the am-

biguity of the authors and their conflicting traditions. It is not clear whether this is a sewer or a water-course which the khalif traversed; and a question of some interest, which will be discussed below, is involved in it.

⁵ "Aliqua vetusti operis extantia vestigia demonstrantes." William of Tyre, Lib. 1. cap. ii. p. 630. *Gesta Dei*.

The sacred rock, reputed to be the Bethel of Jacob's vision¹, the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple, the starting point of Mahommed's celestial journey, had been converted into a dunghill by the Christians, as an insult to the Jews, who regarded the spot with especial veneration². The zealous khalif himself set the example of clearing it from its defilement, and was warmly seconded by his followers, converting their garments into barrows, to transport the soil to the neighbouring valley. Having accomplished their task, they proceeded to two fountains in the valley of Hinnom, where they performed the necessary ablutions, and then returned to the rock to pray there.



Mosk of Omar.

¹ The tradition which identifies Bethel with Jerusalem, owes its origin, I believe, to the Moslems, with whom it is quite in character to crowd together a number of incidents, without the slightest regard to topography, chronology, or history.

² The parallel between the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre should be observed. The traditionary evidence in favour of the former is not nearly so distinct as for the latter: yet no one doubts that its site was actually recovered.

Thus was the spot selected for that magnificent structure which at this day perpetuates at Jerusalem the name of the second khalif, its first Moslem conqueror. Not that the present building owes its erection to him; his mosk does not appear to have possessed many architectural attractions: it did but stand a few years, and is described by those who saw it as a mean building³. The existing temple was built by Abd-el-Malik Ibn Marwan, of the house of Ommiyah, the tenth khalif. The grandeur of its conception, and the magnificence of its execution, deserved a better reward from posterity than the oblivion of his name. It was commenced in the 69th year of the Hejira, and completed in three years. It is said that he spent upon the building the produce of a seven years' tax upon Egypt, amounting, according to another authority, to 100,000 dinars; and the Arabian historians are lost in admiration at the prodigality of the expenditure; but as the minute detail of its ornaments would be tedious and uninteresting, it may be dispensed with⁴. The neighbouring church of Justinian, dedicated to the Virgin, had already been converted into the Mosk el Aksa. The munificent Khalif Abd-el-Malik covered its gates with plates of gold and silver, but it was soon stripped of its treasures in consequence of the poverty of his successors⁵. During the khalifat of his son Waled, the eastern part of the Mosk el Aksa fell to ruin, and as he had no funds to repair it,

³ Poujoulat, *Histoire*, Vol. III. p. 106, so represents the testimony of Arculphus, to which I have not now the opportunity of reference. If this be correct, Arculphus must have visited Jerusalem earlier than 697, as will presently appear.

⁴ Jalál-Addín, pp. 184—190, gives a full description.

⁵ For the traditionary notices of the Mosk el Aksa, see Jalál-Addín, *Hist. of the Temple*, &c. pp. 190—194; and *Fundgraben des Orients*, Vol. II. pp. 157, 159.

he ordered the ruined part to be pulled down, and the price of the materials to be distributed to the poor. Forty years later, in the time of the second Abbasside khalif, Abú-Jafar-Al-Mansur, other parts of this extensive building were decayed by time, or injured by an earthquake, and as he could not afford to restore it, he stripped the gold from the doors, coined it, and applied the proceeds to the necessary repairs. A second earthquake shook down what he had rebuilt, and his son and successor, Al-Mahadi, found the mosk in ruins. The character of the building was altered by this khalif, whose taste was offended by its proportions, and he gave orders that its length should be diminished and its width increased. Again, in the 452nd year of the Hejira, A.D. 1060, it suffered materially from the falling in of the roof, and occasioned to the Moslems sad forebodings of approaching calamities, which were shortly verified by the Crusaders. The facts here stated will sufficiently account for the debasements noticed by modern travellers in this very interesting building, decidedly one of the most ancient in Jerusalem—debasements which have so altered its character, as to lead them to question whether it can be the church of the Purification built by Justinian¹. It is described as “consisting of a nave and six side-aisles, of a mixed architecture, the entire breadth being 180 feet, or 100 feet less than the length. The columns and piers are very irregular in size, material, and architectural character; some being evidently Roman, while others are Saracenic².”

¹ Further notice will be taken of this church in Part II. cap. ii.

² See a communication from Mr Catherwood, in Bartlett's *Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 169. The architect adds

in a note: “It is supposed to be the church built by Justinian, but *if so*, it has been greatly altered by the Mahomedans.” This conjecture is seen to be well founded.

From the period of its conquest by Omar, but especially subsequent to the erection of the Kubbet es-Sakhráh (the Dome of the Rock) by Abd-el-Malik Ibn-Marwan, Beit el-Mukaddus³ (the Holy House)—so the Moslems name Jerusalem—became almost as much an object of religious attraction to the Mahometan devotee as to the Christian pilgrim⁴. Not that the zeal of the latter was in the least abated by the occupation of the Holy City by the infidels; nor do the strangers from the west appear to have suffered any material annoyance from them⁵. The native Christians themselves enjoyed the peace and protection secured to them by the treaty of capitulation, during the reign of Omar's upright successors, and of the princes of the house of Ommiyah⁶; but their circumstances underwent a considerable change for the worse on the accession to power of the family of Abbas. A dynasty which had waded to the throne through the blood of their co-religionists was not likely to spare those whom they despised as infidels; and the yoke of servitude began to press more heavily on the Christians of the East; a frequent change of local governors exposing them to frequent change of

³ So they write. In common parlance they use the more convenient abbreviated form, and call it simply "el-Kuds," i. e. "the Holy."

⁴ Eutychii Annales, II. 365. Abd-el-Melik, after the example of his predecessor Merwan, had forbidden pilgrimages to Mecca, on account of its occupation by Abdullah Ibn-Zobair.

⁵ See the notices in Bib. Res. II. 38, 9, where will be found, in the notes, references to the authorities for

this dark period of Jerusalem's history, through which I am compelled to run very rapidly.

⁶ The first five khalifs are distinguished by the designation of "the Upright," which their administration seems to have merited. The dynasty of Ommiyah acceded by the usurpation of Moawiyah in A. D. 661, and became extinct by the murder of Merwan II. A. D. 752. For a succinct history of these princes, see Gibbon, capp. l. li.

fortune, according to the caprice of their tyrants¹. The reign of Hârûn el-Rashîd (A.D. 786—809) is a bright spot in the dark annals of Jerusalem's history under the Abbasside khalifs, and presents to us the two most powerful monarchs of the West and of the East, a Christian and a Musselman, known to each other only by report, united in bonds of amity by the mutual veneration which their respective characters inspired.

The biographer of Charlemagne² represents that the friendship of Hârûn the Just was so highly valued by the monarch of the West, that he preferred it to the alliance of all the kings and princes in the whole world, and judged him alone worthy to be treated with distinction. The first advances were made by the western emperor, whose legates to the court of the eastern monarch were entrusted with costly offerings for the Holy Sepulchre. They carried back to their master the keys of the church, in token that the khalif renounced all power over that "sacred and salutary place" in favour of his Christian ally; a more acceptable present than the robes and spices, with other rich productions of the East, which the munificence of Hârûn forwarded on that occasion, on the sole elephant in his possession, for the acceptance of Charlemagne.

Although the exertions of the emperor in behalf of the oppressed Christians were not limited to Palestine³, yet Jerusalem experienced in a fuller measure his bounteous liberality. Alms were collected and sent thither for the

¹ William of Tyre, Lib. I. cap. iii. p. 630, in the *Gesta Dei*.

² See Eginhardi Vita Caroli Magni, as quoted by William of Tyre, l. c.; and see Bib. Res. II. p. 41, and notes.

³ "Ob hâc maximè transmarinorum regum amicitias expetens, ut Christianis sub eorum dominatu degentibus, refrigerium aliquod et relevatio proveniret." Eginhard, l. c.

restoration of ruined churches and the relief of the poor; and more than fifty years after his death, notwithstanding a storm had since visited the Christians, a library and hospice for pilgrims, founded by him, were still seen at Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of St Mary's Church, which formed the southern side of the court of the Holy Sepulchre⁴.

The troubles which attended the decline of the power of the khalifs of Bagdad deeply afflicted the Christians of Palestine, and the transfer of the country to the dominion of the Fatimites prepared for them fresh calamities, which called forth the sympathies of Europe, long since invited in a touching letter from the Patriarch Elias⁵. At first indeed the Egyptian yoke appeared more tolerable than that from which they had been released⁶, but the occupation of the throne by the fanatical Hakem, was a signal for a repetition of the scenes enacted by the Persians under Chosroes. This monster of iniquity, whose memory is still revered by the Druses as the latest incarnation of the Deity! succeeded to the throne of his father Aziz at the

⁴ The monk Bernhard visited the city circ. A.D. 870. See Poujoulat, *Histoire*, III. 109, and Bib. Res. p. 42. This hospice was probably the commencement of that of the merchants of Amalfi, the foundation of the knights of St John, of which presently: it occupied the same site.

⁵ A.D. 881. See this letter to Charles the Young, in *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, de M. Michaud, Pt. I, pp. 443, 4. It appears to have received no answer; but at the close of the following century, Pope Sylvester II. endeavoured to excite an active interest in the cause of the suffering

Christians. See the authorities Bib. Res. II. 44.

⁶ William of Tyre, I. iv. p. 631. This appears inconsistent with the account of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Muez, when the Patriarch John is said to have been burnt in the flames. Bib. Res. 43. I cannot help suspecting some confusion between this and the destruction of the church by Hakem (presently to be noticed), on which occasion the Greek annals inform us that the Patriarch John VII. was burnt with the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

early age of eleven years¹, (A.D. 996.) The motives which actuated him in his persecution of the Christians are variously stated. Two contemporary chroniclers² declare that he was instigated to it by the hereditary enemies of the Christian name, who alarmed him by representations, which the letter of Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, and the descent of the Genoese and Pisans on the coast of Palestine, as indicating the general feeling of the West, would fully justify. The Jews of Orleans suborned an apostate Christian to carry to the Khalif a letter, written in Hebrew characters for greater security, and concealed in his staff, which is described as a masterpiece of perfidy and wickedness. This is said to have succeeded in its object, and to have resulted in the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

A different account is given by later writers³. The mother of Hakem was a Christian, and her two brothers had been raised by the favour of Khalif Aziz to the patriarchal chairs of Jerusalem and Alexandria. This connexion involved Hakem in the suspicion of Christianity, and, in order to clear himself from the imputation, he resolved on the demolition of the most sacred of their churches. By his orders the church of the Resurrection was completely overthrown; an ineffectual attempt was made to destroy the sacred Cave itself, by levelling it with the ground: and the Christians were reduced to extremities which they had not experienced since their subjugation to the Moslems. Enormous tribute was exacted in violation of privileges

¹ An interesting account of this monster is contained in the notes to Mr Reynolds' translation of Jalál-addín, p. 520; and in a valuable little book on Syria and Mount Lebanon, lately published, in which, I think, I

recognize the hand of a gentleman whom I met in the East.

² Glaben and Adhemar, as quoted by Poujoulat, Vol. III. p. 119.

³ William of Tyre, I. iv. p. 631.

granted by former khalifs. The celebration of their solemnities, which had been formerly allowed, was now prohibited, or subjected to violent and barbarous interruptions, and not only liberty of worship, but liberty of speech, was taken away, the accusations of unprincipled informers eagerly believed, and the faithful subjected to most cruel punishments for the lightest offences. John VII. the patriarch for the time, who enjoyed only the privilege of a priority of suffering, encouraged his flock, both by precept and example, to endurance of present evils, by the prospect of future rewards.

The intercession of Romanus Diogenes, the unfortunate emperor of Constantinople, prevailed with Dhaher, the brother and successor of Hakem, to consent to the re-edification of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the patriarch Nicephorus was enabled to accomplish through the liberality of another Constantine (Monomachus), who granted funds for the purpose from the imperial treasury. Yet the condition of the Christians was little ameliorated. They were still treated with insult, loaded with reproaches, exposed to the calumnious accusations of the basest sycophants, and impoverished in their attempts to satisfy the exorbitant demands of a rapid succession of greedy governors⁴.

But even these afflictions, heavy as they were, were nothing in comparison with those which followed, and at length aroused the whole of Western Europe to arm in defence of their oppressed brethren of the East. The Turks, whose political existence dates from the middle of the sixth century, when their ancestors first left their native mountains to handle in their own cause the swords which they had so long forged for others, had extended their influence in Persia,

⁴ William of Tyre, i. v. vi. p. 632.

under the Saracens, until they had gradually usurped all but the shadow of power, which was still claimed by the khalifs of Bagdad¹. In the middle of the eleventh century the destinies of Asia were in fact ruled by the Seljukian sultans, nominally the servants, but virtually the tyrants, of the “Prince of the Faithful”—a venerable phantom, who slumbered in inglorious ease in his palace at Bagdad, leaving to his lieutenants the task of propagating the faith of the Koran which they had embraced. Malek-Shah, the eldest son of the celebrated Alp Arslan, in the course of a prosperous reign of twenty years (1072—1092), extended the limits of his jurisdiction in Tartary to the frontiers of China, eastward, reduced the borders of the Greek empire by the conquest of Asia Minor on the west, and was not withheld by a community of faith from the invasion of the territories of the Fatimite khalifs of Egypt. Syria and Palestine were wrested from their grasp by his lieutenants, and Jerusalem groaned under a bondage more intolerable than it had hitherto known². Still the innumerable perils of the way, increased as they were by this late revolution, could not repress the ardour of the Western Christians of all conditions, who still flocked in crowds to pay their adorations at the Holy Sepulchre³.

Yet the melancholy picture of the state of Christendom, drawn by the pen of one who would not overstate its corruptions⁴, forbids us to hope that the zeal which vented itself in foreign pilgrimages was either intelligent or rightly directed. “The people were faithful only in name; princes

¹ An account of the origin and progress of the Turks is contained in Gibbon, capp. xlii. lii. lvii.

² William of Tyre, I. x. 636.

³ An interesting notice of some of these pilgrimages of the eleventh cen-

tury will be found in Dr Robinson's Bib. Res. II. p. 48, &c.

⁴ The following description is taken from William of Tyre, I. viii. pp. 634, 635.

and subjects, clergy and laity, had all alike departed from purity both of faith and morals. Sacrilege, violence, gross fornication, injustice, luxury, and a long catalogue of other sins, betokened that the world was declining towards evening, and that the second advent of the Son of man was at hand; for the love of many had waxed cold, and faith was no more found in the earth. The bishops, instead of correcting the prevailing abuses, were grossly negligent; 'dumb dogs, not able to bark;' accepting persons; leaving the sheep to wolves, as hirelings; given to simony; followers of Gehazi. In short 'all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth;' and nature itself gave token of approaching judgments; for there were prodigies in heavens and signs upon earth; pestilence, and famine, and earthquakes."

Such was the condition of the world when the nations of the West and of the East were brought into deadly collision⁵. The spark which produced the tremendous explosion was kindled by an obscure individual, a French hermit, of the diocese of Amiens. He had come as a pilgrim to Jerusalem (A.D. 1094), where his sympathy was awakened by the sufferings of the native church, and his righteous indignation aroused by the flagitious practices of its ruthless oppressors. An *aureus*⁶ was exacted for admission to the city; not one in a thousand of the wretched pilgrims, who had lost their all on the road, could satisfy the demand; and their tribute and maintenance imposed an intolerable burden on the in-

⁵ I may say, once for all, that I follow in the history of the earlier Crusades, the collection of writers in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, but especially William of Tyre. A short outline is given by Gibbon, cap. lviii. where a tabular view of references to

this interesting collection will be found.

⁶ "A gold Byzant, equivalent to about five Spanish dollars." Bib. Res. II. p. 48, note 3. The value of the Spanish dollar is now four shillings and fourpence English.

habitants. They were constantly exposed to insults in their visits to the holy places, whose sanctity was no protection against the infidels. The churches, which had been repaired with great labour and cost, were violently entered even during the celebration of the divine offices, and the tyrants would sit upon the altars, overthrow and trample under foot the sacred vessels, insult the clergy with abuse and blows, and pluck the venerable patriarch from his seat by the hair of his head or beard. They would even occasionally proceed so far as to throw him into prison¹.

Distressed beyond measure at these barbarities, Peter sought an interview with Symeon, offered his condolence, and recommended him to write to the sovereign pontiff of the Roman Church, to the kings and princes of the West, since he must now despair of all succour from the East. For himself, he undertook to make known throughout the length and breadth of Europe the facts of which he had been assured by ocular proof, and to leave no means untried to furnish a remedy to these bitter persecutions. His aid was thankfully accepted, and he departed on his errand. Most faithfully did he execute his voluntary commission.

Peter the hermit is described as of short stature, and a contemptible presence as regards the outer man; but he had a mighty spirit, quick wit, a piercing eye, and a pleasing flow of eloquence, which he turned to the best account in preaching the first Crusade. The cause was strenuously taken up by Pope Urban II. The council of Clermont, summoned by that pontiff, witnessed the success of his earnest exhortations; the watchword claiming the Divine sanction for the undertaking, ran like wild-fire

¹ It is impossible not to be struck by the similarity of these barbarities, to those practised by the Puritans at the time of the Commonwealth.

through the countries of the West, and Europe was convulsed to its centre with preparations for the Holy War².

Various were the motives which induced the thousands of Italy, France, and Germany, to arm for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Some were actuated, no doubt, by deep and sincere devotion to their Lord: they looked upon Palestine as "Immanuel's Land" in a peculiar sense. The feudal laws, which then prevailed, would inculcate the duty of the vassal to fight for the expulsion of the unbelievers to whom it was enslaved; and the authority of the Church, holding out to them the sure promise of eternal reward, still further enflamed their religious ardour; the zeal for pilgrimage being increased by the glorious prospect of a martyr's crown. But whether it were "the mightiest lever known to the moral world, imagination," or superstition, or simply worldly motives, that "upheaved all Christendom from her natural station," and stirred to its lowest depths the elements of society, he must be blind indeed who does not see, and ungrateful who will not acknowledge, a higher Providence directing the misguided zeal of his creatures to his own merciful purposes; checking the desolating course of the scimeter and the Koran in Europe, by the terrors of the cross and sword in Asia³.

I am compelled reluctantly to pass over the mustering of

² The decisions of the Council of "Deus vult," (as it was called from the words in which the unanimous opinion of the assembly was declared—God willeth it!) held A. D. 1095, were said to have been known, at the moment of their enactment, throughout Europe.

³ I am not quite sure whether the poet Wordsworth, in his sonnet on the

Crusades, whose language I have borrowed, has not pleaded a better defence than many who have entered more fully into the justification of the "Holy Wars." M. Michaud has conferred a benefit on the world by the publication of his valuable *Histoire des Croisades*; and the important translations in the Appendix, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*.

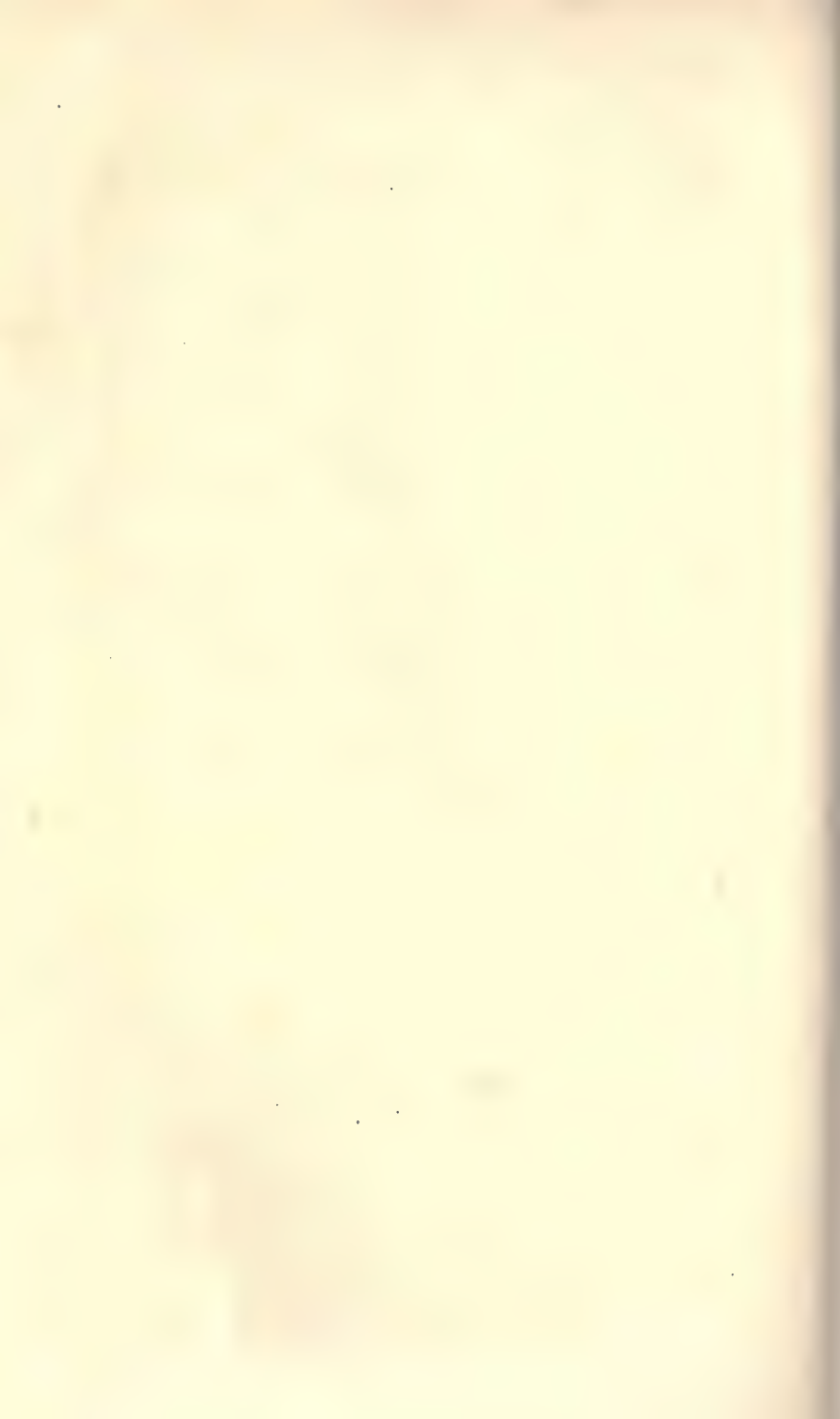
the mighty hosts under their several leaders, the various fortunes which they experienced on their passage through Europe, until they were reunited under the walls of Nicæa in Bithynia, the subsequent divisions and disputes of the princes, and the reverses or successes that attended their arms in Asia Minor, before Antioch, in Syria, and Palestine, until the remnant that had escaped the perils of the way sat down under the walls of Jerusalem, on the seventh of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety-nine.

Since the first warning of the impending storm, the Moslem inhabitants of the city had not been inactive. In the course of the same year Afdhal, vizier of the Fatimite khalif el-Mustâly, had succeeded in expelling the Turkish usurpers, and had left it in charge of Emîr Iftikar ed-Dauleh. This governor had no sooner heard of the departure of the Turks from Antioch, where they had experienced so serious, and he might hope effectual check, than he set himself, by the khalif's orders, to restore the fortifications, and laid in such stores and ammunition as were necessary for the approaching siege¹. In a general assembly held in the court of the great mosk, it was proposed to put all the Christian inhabitants to the sword, and to root up the very rock of the Holy Sepulchre, so as to remove for ever the object of this present expedition. But perceiving that by this means they would the more exasperate the incensed minds of their dreaded enemies, and expose themselves to the risk of extermination in the event of their success, they happily abandoned the design, and satisfied themselves with imposing a tax of enormous amount on the Christians, and expelled from the

¹ William of Tyre, Lib. vii. cap. xxiii. p. 343. The siege is described in the viiith book.



THE MOSQUE OF THE GREAT KUTUB KHANA
AT DELHI



city all but the aged, sick, women, and children. The crusaders might have learnt a lesson of moderation from the humane exception.

The walls of the city, at that period much more circumscribed than in earlier times, appear to have enclosed the same space occupied by modern Jerusalem². Three sides, defended for the most part by a natural fosse of immense depth, and the almost precipitous valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, were inaccessible to the assault of the besiegers: the north alone exposed an approachable front to their attack, but that also frowned defiance from its frequent towers. The princes were encamped in the following order³. The prince of Lorrain, Godfrey of Bouillon, occupied the extremity of the left wing, extending from the Valley of Jehoshaphat and opposite to the tower which then filled the north-east angle of the walls. Next to him, on the right, was Count Robert of Flanders, then his namesake of Normandy, and afterwards the renowned Tancred. His position is determined by the corner-tower, afterwards called by his name, whose substantial ruins in the north-west angle of the city still furnish a valuable topographical mark for the illustration of the historical description⁴. These four generals being thus disposed along the northern line, a position was taken up by the Count Raimond of Toulouse over against the Tower of David, on the west. But as there was little prospect of making an impression on

² For the changes in the walls of Jerusalem, see *Biblical Researches*, I. pp. 384, 469.

³ Twenty-two years of study, (I learn from M. Poujoulat, *Histoire*, Vol. III. p. 156,) could not satisfy M. Michaud how the crusaders penetrated into the city—even though he had been

on the spot to examine the ground. This is to me quite inexplicable; nothing can be clearer than the account of the chroniclers, and wonderfully consistent.

⁴ Dr Robinson coincides doubtingly. *Bib. Res.* I. p. 471, note 1.

that quarter, owing to the strength of the tower which defended the Jaffa gate, and the disadvantage of his position with a deep valley interposed, he was prevailed on to remove half his army to that part of Mount Zion excluded from the city, where he pitched his camp between the walls and the Zion church, which was without range of the enemies' missiles.

The siege was then pressed with vigour for five successive days, on the last of which, after a long and obstinate engagement, the Saracens were driven from the outworks, and compelled to confine themselves within the inner wall; and had the Franks been furnished with scaling ladders for the escalade, that day would have seen them in possession of Jerusalem. But their sufferings were to be yet protracted, or even increased. It was now apparent that all their attempts would be ineffectual without machines, and the usual difficulty was experienced in finding materials for their construction. At length a Syrian Christian guided them to a valley, six or seven miles distant from the city, where they found timber, not indeed suited to the work, but such as they were glad to avail themselves of in their present exigency. The trees were felled, conveyed on camels to the city; and while artificers were engaged on these, the rest of the multitude were employed in forming wattled covering for the machines, in order to protect those who should work them. High and low, rich and poor, emulated each other; all distinctions of rank were forgotten; diligence and aptitude for the work were the only recommendations to respect.

Meanwhile the Christian host suffered as severely from drought, as they had previously at Antioch from famine. The fountains and wells about the city had been stopped on the first news of their approach. Siloam alone remained,

but its uncertain and scanty supply was wholly inadequate for an army toiling incessantly during the dog-days, under the oppressive heat of a Syrian sun. The Bethlehemites and Tekoites conducted them to fountains four or five miles distant; but the enemy sallying from the uninvested part of the city, intercepted the unarmed foragers; and so perilous was the service, that the water which reached the camp was sold at an enormous price. To the horrors of drought, infection was shortly added, from the multitude of cattle that had died for want of pasture; and while the unrecruited forces of the faithful were daily diminishing by the operation of these causes, the besieged were constantly receiving fresh supplies through the open walls, and strengthening the defences of the city.

In this extremity, the seasonable arrival of some Genoese vessels at the port of Jaffa, which hardly escaped the Egyptian fleet, revived the flagging spirits of the besiegers. The cargo and crews were convoyed to Jerusalem by an escort from the Count of Toulouse. On their way to the port they had experienced some loss in a skirmish with a much superior force of the enemy, but the loss was fully compensated by the skill of the artificers, whom they succeeded in bringing safely to the camp. They came prepared with all necessary implements, and Raimond, whose funds alone were unexhausted, took them into his employ. Their ready ingenuity turned even the disasters of the army to account. The animals which had died from starvation, or had been mercifully killed to save them from it, were skinned, and the raw hides nailed over the machines, served as a protection against the fire by which the enemy afterwards sought to destroy them.

In four weeks the preparations were completed, and the day fixed for the assault. But in order to secure its suc-

cess, it was resolved first to propitiate the Almighty by a general humiliation, and a reconciliation of the differences and animosities which existed among princes and people. In long but peaceful array, with bare feet, the clergy in their priestly vestments chanting solemn litanies, they first proceeded to the Mount of Olives, where they were edified by sermons, from Peter the Hermit, and Anculphus, an eloquent friend of Count Robert of Normandy, exhorting them to endurance and the exercise of other Christian graces. They then visited the Church of Zion, where several were wounded from the walls, on which the enemy exposed and insulted the sacred symbol of our salvation. All was now ready.

There was a part of the wall between the Damascus Gate and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which had hitherto been neglected by the besieged, owing to no part of the Christian army being encamped before it. On the night preceding the assault, the Duke Godfrey, despairing of forcing the strongly fortified wall before him, with incredible labour removed his machine in fragments, a distance of half a mile, and under cover of the darkness erected it against this weaker part; the other generals got all in readiness, each in his own quarter. The fashion of all their towers was much the same. They were four-sided, the part turned to the wall being guarded by a double coating, the outer one of which when let down formed a draw-bridge for communication with the wall, while the second covering protected those within the tower.

At dawn of day the assault commenced: the soldiers of the cross, animated by one spirit, proposed to themselves only one of two alternatives—victory or martyrdom. Even the aged and the sick, women and children, took part in the fight. The machines were moved towards the walls under

cover of a discharge of stones from engines and slings, but a deep fosse before the outworks impeded the operations of the besiegers, and the stout defence of the Moslems occasioned them considerable loss. The fosse was with difficulty filled, the castles advanced to the outworks, and a deadly struggle ensued. The shock of the assailants' missiles was broken by sacks of straw and chaff, or beams and ropes, suspended from the walls. The castles were fired by means of brands attached to darts composed of sulphur, pitch, and oil, with other combustibles, and the flames were scarcely extinguished by streams of precious water. Huge masses of stone hurled from the battlements crushed the legs of the engines, and the soldiers by whom they were manned were thrown headlong to the earth. Meanwhile the catapults on the wall discharged incessant showers of shot with wonderful precision and effect.

Night parted the combatants, but though exhausted with the toils of the day, neither party could devote it to repose. The crusaders, apprehensive for the safety of their engines, prepared with so much labour, and on which their success depended, watched anxiously for the morning to renew the assault, while the garrison, no less fearful of a night-attack, paced the walls and guarded the gates, while the elders, passing through the streets of the city, exhorted and encouraged the people to vigilance and bravery.

At length the anxious night, worse than the toilsome day, gave place to the dawn of the memorable 15th of July. The battle raged as on the preceding day, and in addition to the usual arts of war the Moslems called to their aid the charms of sorcery. One very large and destructive engine of the Franks had done terrible execution; the incantations of two witches were to disarm it of its power: while engaged with their spells on the wall, three girls of their company were

struck by a mass from the same engine, and fell lifeless from the walls; a circumstance which occasioned great joy to the Christians and proportionate consternation to the infidels. At length, after seven hours hard fighting, the courage of the weary and dispirited besiegers beginning to flag, they proposed to draw back their battered and smoking engines, which sadly needed repair, and to defer the attack till the following day, devoting the interval to necessary refreshment and repose; when a timely apparition on Mount Olivet, distinctly seen by Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustachius, from the upper story of their tower, revived the dying embers of zeal. The soldiers returned with fresh vigour to the action, and the last and successful struggle commenced. The outworks were carried, and the engines applied to the wall. The besieged averted the strokes of the battering-rams by long beams of great thickness suspended from the battlements by ropes: the soldiers in Godfrey's tower cut the ropes, and the beam fell to the ground. The enemy had thus furnished the means of their own destruction. The drawbridge of the castle was weak and required support, the means of which this beam so opportunely furnished. Under cover of a cloud of smoke, raised from ignited straw and flax, and carried by the wind with blinding effect into the faces of the enemy, the valiant brothers at the head of a chosen band carried the wall, and the besieged fled in all directions. The Franks seeing their comrades in possession of the city, speedily brought their ladders, the northern gate was opened, and the crusaders were masters of Jerusalem. The panic soon spread among the Moslems, the defence was abandoned, and the Count of Toulouse, on the western quarter, ignorant of what had occurred, entered without opposition, and the Zion gate admitted the main body of his followers. It was on a Friday afternoon, at three o'clock, that the city was

taken; and the chroniclers do not fail to remark, that it seemed to be divinely ordered that at the very hour and on the self-same day of the week on which our Lord suffered for the salvation of the world in that city, His followers were permitted to see the consummation of their wishes in their triumph over His enemies through the might of His name¹.

Alas! the soldiers of the Cross were little mindful of His precepts and example in His dying prayer for His murderers. Humanity shudders and religion revolts at the frightful carnage committed under His banner, by these inhuman butchers, flushed with victory, thirsting for blood, and wholly devoted to its terrible work². The two generals, advancing from opposite quarters, met in the middle of the city, leaving the ensanguined streets behind them so thickly strewn with the mangled corpses of their victims as to be almost impassable, the miserable fugitives being intercepted between the two detachments. Such as escaped immediate death fled to the court of the Temple, and a few to the castle of David. The former became the next object of attack. Tancred was the first to enter, and while his soldiers were busy with carnage he was occupied with rapine, and pillaged the vast riches of the Mosk of Omar. The arrival of the other generals consummated the tragedy. The marble platform of the sacred building was deluged ankle-deep with

¹ It is singular, that even a more remarkable coincidence is mentioned by Moslem writers on its recovery by Saladin. He took it on the anniversary of Mohammed's night-journey from Jerusalem to heaven!

² "Infidelium cruorem sitiens, et ad cædem omninò proclivus.....stragem operati sunt horrendam. Tanta

per urbem erat strages hostium, tan-taque sanguinis effusio, ut etiam victoribus posset tædium et horrorem ingerere." William of Tyre. The historian labours for language, and he and others seem to take especial delight in describing the sanguinary proceedings.

blood, and the mangled limbs of the slaughtered floated on its crimson tide, and the grim aspect of the conquerors, smeared from head to foot with human gore, was not less dreadful than the havoc in which they were engaged. Ten thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen in this confined space; the number slain in the city was not to be estimated. It had been before agreed that the victors should have for their share of the booty what each could seize for himself; and the consequence was that houses were dispossessed of their occupants by the indiscriminate slaughter of whole families, some being slain with the sword, others thrown headlong into the streets.

The transition in the events of this day fills perhaps the most striking page in the history of enthusiasm. When the arms of the conquerors were wearied, and their swords blunt with slaughter, when guards had been stationed in the towers and at the gates as a precaution against a sudden attack, the whole multitude, having laid aside their weapons, washed their hands and changed their garments; with bare feet, and groans and tears, the outward indications of a humble spirit and truly contrite heart, mingled with hymns and spiritual songs of praise, proceeded to the venerable places which their Saviour had deigned to adorn and sanctify by His presence, but especially to the scenes of His Passion and Resurrection; kissing and embracing each sacred memorial with indescribable fervour of devotion. Their tears were tears of joy and gratitude; their sighs and sobs appeared to proceed from hearts wholly inflamed with love, and to ascend as a whole and acceptable burnt-offering to God. To this succeeded works of mercy and bountiful alms-giving. The newly-acquired spoil was bestowed with prodigal profusion on those who had obtained nothing for themselves, and they who, an hour before, with greedy ava-

rice had seized all on which they could lay hands, now voluntarily impoverished themselves, and counted the privilege of this day their all-sufficient reward!

Had the scene closed here the theory of temporary demoniacal possession might have explained their former fury, which nothing could excuse; but the cold-blooded butchery of the surviving Moslems is the darkest crime of this shocking tragedy. It was committed upon deliberation, contrary to the laws of war, three days after the capture of the city, when the boiling blood of the conquerors had had time to cool, and reason and humanity to resume their controul. Some who had escaped to the roof of the Mosk of Aksa¹, to whom Tancred had given security for their lives, were put to death in violation of the treaty; and the same fate would have befallen those in the Tower of David but for the determination of the Count of Toulouse, who enabled them to effect their escape to Ascalon, with their wives and children and baggage.

The first act of the assembled princes, after the burial of the dead and purification of the city, was the election of a king. The personal merits and important services of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, secured to him their unanimous suffrages, but the haughty spirits of his late compeers did not readily submit to his authority. Count Raymond, who had taken possession of the Castle of David on its evacuation by the Saracens, refused to relinquish his title. He was probably disappointed, and with good reason, in his expectation of the throne; nor would the electors have disregarded his superior claims, had not his moral character been purposely misrepresented by many of his followers, who, anxious for their own

¹ Jalâl-Addin extends the slaughter to seven days, and says that 70,000 | were slain in the Mosk of Akaa alone!

return to Europe, hesitated not to calumniate their leader in order to effect it. The disputed castle was adjudged to the king, and the count, having in vain attempted to quench his indignation in the waters of the Jordan, soon after returned home in disgust.

The history of the Frank kingdom in Palestine, interesting as it is, can only be slightly glanced at. The early care of the good king was to provide for the worship of God in his capital. Twenty canons were appointed to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, others were attached to the church of Gethsemane, and the dignity of the Mosk of Omar, converted into a church under the name of the "Temple of the Lord," was similarly maintained. An altar of white marble was raised upon the sacred rock, and loud are still the lamentations of the Moslems at such grievous desecration, deep their indignation at the violence sustained by es-Sakhrah es-Sherif on this occasion; the marks of which, existing to this day, are a perpetual memorial of the temporary triumph of the faith which they hate or despise.

The appointment of a patriarch was the next care. The venerable Symeon, who held that dignity, was absent in Cyprus on the investment of the city. He had gone to that island for the purpose of collecting the exorbitant tax demanded of his church, and had sent presents to the princes during the siege, hoping by their means to be delivered from his oppressors: he died apparently before the capture of the city. The Franks seem not to have entertained the least doubt of their competency to elect a successor from their own body, without the slightest reference either to the local church or to the supreme pontiff of the West; and the only impediment was, that no candidate worthy of the honour was to be found. A chancellor of the holy church of Jerusalem was therefore appointed until the

vacancy could be satisfactorily filled; and the subsequent appointment of unprincipled and mercenary bishops to that dignity was a constant source of trouble to the king and his successors.

Godfrey remained in Jerusalem scarcely a fortnight, when he marched to meet the troops of the khalif, which which were completely routed in the battle of Ascalon. The king then marched to the north, and only returned to his capital to die there after a brief reign of twelve months. Boemund, who was appointed to succeed him, being captured by the Turks, Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, was crowned at Christmas, in the church of Bethlehem: for he would not presume to wear a diadem of gold and jewels where the King of kings and Lord of lords had submitted to wear a crown of thorns for the redemption of the world¹.

But indeed the Frank kings of Jerusalem were doomed to find that the office with which they were invested was no sinecure. The helmet was their crown, the coat of mail their robe of state, the heavens their royal canopy, and the saddle of the war-horse their throne. After sitting in the Palace of Solomon (so they named the Mosk of Aksa) for three days, to administer justice to his subjects, King Baldwin I. left the Holy City to prosecute the war for the subjugation of Palestine. One after another the cities and fortresses of the Saracens were compelled to own a foreign lord; and the conquest of Ascalon, the strongest

¹ The words are as beautiful as the sentiment: "Noluit enim nec præsument in urbe Jerusalem diademate auro vel gemmis pretiosis exaltari adornari et in Regem promoveri, ubi Dominus Jesus, Rex regum et Domi-

nus dominantium humiliatus et obediens usque ad mortem pro mundi redemptione, spinis horridis et acutis coronatus est." Alb. Aq. vii. xliii. p. 307.

garrison in the land, after an obstinate defence, left them at liberty to extend their arms beyond the limits of the Holy Land. Wiser had it been to concentrate their forces within its natural ramparts of rivers and mountains and deserts; then might the tottering throne of Jerusalem have been strongly supported, instead of falling before the expiration of a century. But the fervour of religious zeal had given place to the thirst for glory, and the prevailing corruption of morals among the Franks deprived them of their strongest support. Only the warrior-monks of the Temple, and the knights of the Hospital of St John, maintained their devotion to the Holy Sepulchre unimpaired, and earned for themselves a deathless fame, which the cruel calumnies of powerful enemies and persecutors, bent upon their destruction, has not been able to blast.

The former college originated in the voluntary devotion of a small band of noble knights, binding themselves to the protection of the Christian pilgrims, associated under the name of "The poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ¹." The foundation dates from a period little posterior to the capture of the city, in which they had distinguished themselves; but they had no fixed place of abode until the nineteenth year of the Frank kingdom, when Baldwin assigned them the Palace or Temple of Solomon for their habitation. This building, erected by Justinian, had undergone many extensive repairs during the Saracen domination²; but it is probable that the hospitals formerly connected with it were still standing, and, with the addition of other buildings, would afford accommodation to the augmented numbers of

¹ I refer with great satisfaction to "The Knights Templars," by C. G. Addison, Esq. of the Inner Temple, for the history of this body; a work

to which I am much indebted in the few following pages.

² See above, p. 206.

the Templars³. The powerful advocacy of St Bernard, the distinguished abbot of Clairvaux, created an enthusiastic interest in their behalf; their recognition in the council of Troyes, and the confirmation of their rule by a papal bull, gave them the fullest sanction of the Church; and the order soon became the most popular in Europe⁴. Kings and princes of the highest name felt that they honoured themselves by its patronage, and lands and manors and churches were given or bequeathed to it in various nations⁵, until its rich endowments tempted the cupidity of the sovereigns, and finally led to its irretrievable ruin.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the church of the Holy Sepulchre is a large heap of ancient ruins, entered by a gateway, whose fragments, exhibiting a variety of rich and exquisite ornament⁶, with a Latin inscription on the cornice, not easily deciphered, will tempt the architect or antiquary to pause and examine it, notwithstanding the very disgusting odours of the neighbouring tannery. The deserted wreck itself will amply repay a visit. From the ruined apse of a large church a flight of steps leads up to a small court surrounded by a cloistered corridor, on the south side of which are three large rooms in a fair state of preservation. The northernmost of these, whose shell is entire, was formerly a chapel, as is still evident from its appearance; albeit the sacred building is now desecrated as a depository for dung for the fires of a neighbouring bath. These are the

³ Addison's *Templars*, p. 10, &c. 2d Ed. Something has been said of this building above, and much more must be said hereafter. See above, p. 206.

⁴ *Templars*, p. 14, &c. An abstract of the rule is given, pp. 18—29.

⁵ For a list of their possessions and privileges, see *Templars*, pp. 94, &c.

and 334.

⁶ The diaper-work on this gateway, and the lace-work round the small square-headed doorway, with a curious key-stone, which gives entrance to the gallery, are beautifully executed, and the latter is in perfect preservation.

remains of the hospital of the Knights of St John, another religious order, which claims a passing notice. There were two hospitals, one for males, the other for females, with chapels dedicated, the former to St Mary Magdalene, the latter to St John, the almsgiving patriarch of Alexandria, whose interest in Jerusalem, already recorded, fairly entitled him to such a memorial¹. They were founded by the merchants of Amalfi in the eleventh century, and the self-denying charity of the society, whose original duties consisted in attending the sick and destitute pilgrims whom devotion had attracted to the city, challenged the admiration of the crusaders, while the zeal of the latter added fresh fuel to the devotion of the Hospitallers. They resolved to devote themselves to their self-imposed task by the bond of monastic vows, and assumed a distinguishing habit, and the honourable title of "Guardian of the Poor" was conferred on their superior. Subsequently they undertook the protection of the pilgrims, after the manner of the Templars. Both the military orders had soon to extend their operations, and to arm in defence of the kingdom itself. The Seljukian sultans had given place in their turn to their servants the Atabeks², a formidable race of warriors, whose name became terrible to the Frank power in the East. Zenghi, the founder of the dynasty, recovered Antioch and Edessa from their hands, and spoiled them of their conquests east of the Euphrates; his son and successor Nour-ed-din, an able and generous per-

¹ A fuller account of the institution of the Knights of St John may be seen in Addison's *Templars*, p. 61, &c. See also *Biblical Researches*, II. pp. 44, 45, and note.

² For this revolution, and the reigns of Zenghi, and Nour-ed-din, and Sala-

din, see the authorities referred to by Gibbon, cap. lix. An interesting essay on the Khalifate of Bagdad during the latter half of the 12th century, by Mr F. Lebrecht, will be found in the second volume of Asher's edition of Benjamin of Tudela.

secutor of the Christian faith³, waged incessant and successful war with them in Syria and Egypt, where he extinguished the race of the Fatimite khalifs, and restored the spiritual supremacy of Bagdad; leaving to his nephew, the redoubted Salah-ed-din, the task of crushing the Frank kingdom of Jerusalem, whose strength was greatly reduced not only by defeats in the field, but by division and treason in the cabinet.

In place of Godfrey and his valiant companions, the guardianship of the Holy City had devolved on a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor⁴; its strength lay in the divisions of its enemies; and the consolidation of the Moslem power by the victories of Saladin was the signal for its overthrow. In the year A.D. 1186, Guy of Lusignan succeeded to the throne, under suspicious circumstances, through his connexion by marriage with Sybilla, the sister of the fourth, and mother of the fifth Baldwin, by a former husband. The fidelity of the most powerful vassal prince, Count Raymond of Tripoli, had been alienated by disappointment, his malice thirsted for revenge, and to his secret understanding with the enemy are ascribed the calamities which ensued. The truce which protected the Franks against the Moslems was rashly violated by the former, and that in a manner most calculated to exasperate their enemies. The

³ "Noradinus maximus nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor; princeps tamen justus, vafer, providus, et secundum gentis suæ traditiones religiosus." Will. Tyr. xx. xxxiii. Abulpharagius, p. 267, gives even a higher character.

⁴ The words are Gibbon's. The succession of the Frank kings of Jerusalem was as follows:—

1. Godfrey.
2. Baldwin I. brother.
3. Baldwin II. cousin.
4. Melisenda, daughter.
5. Baldwin III. son.
6. Amaury, brother.
7. Baldwin IV. son.
8. Baldwin V. nephew.
9. Guy of Lusignan, husband of Sybilla, mother of the above.

caravans of pilgrims to Mecca were attacked, the sacred cities themselves threatened, and satisfaction for the outrages refused. Saladin was not slow to profit by the opportunity thus afforded him: he invaded the kingdom with a force of 80,000 men. The disastrous battle of Tiberias shattered the Christian power, delivered the king and princes into the hands of the enemy, and left the undefended cities of Palestine an easy prize to the conqueror¹. The warlike monks of the Hospital and of the Temple, whose black and white standard, Beauseant, had been distinguished in the thickest part of the fight, were almost annihilated in the fatal encounter: and such as were taken were led forth to execution on the following day. Refusing, to a man, the offer of life on the condition of apostacy, they calmly prepared for death; at sunset they looked down from the mountain of Beatitudes, on the fairest scene in Palestine, on a lake conscious of the voice of Him whose sign they bore, then entered at His call on the unfathomed depth before them, in full confidence of His upholding arm.

Three months after the battle of Tiberias, eighty-eight years after the conquest of the crusaders, the green and yellow banners of the Moslems were unfurled before the walls of Jerusalem, at the hour of evening prayer. The enthusiasm of the army of Saladin on beholding the walls of their Beit-el-Makuddus, and the sacred domes of es-Sakhrah and el-Aksa, was little less intense than had been that of the Christian army on its first approach; the terror of the besieged Saracens on that occasion could not exceed that of the Christians now. Every mark of humiliation which super-

¹ See a lively account of this battle, otherwise called the Battle of Hattin, with its causes and consequences, in Robinson, Bib. Res. III. 242—249,

where the original authorities are referred to. See also Addison's *Templars*, 149—163.

stition could invent or devotion practise, was had recourse to by the inhabitants to avert the wrath which their sins had provoked. The day of grace had passed, the God of battles had deserted their standard; yet so gallantly did the brave defenders resist the violent assaults of the infidels for fifteen successive days, the clergy and monks assisting on the walls amid showers of arrows aimed with unerring precision and deadly effect, that Saladin was compelled to suspend his operations until the construction of engines should enable him to prosecute them with surer success. A fortnight was consumed in these preparations, and from that time the battering rams were plied with unwearied diligence, night and day, by ten thousand soldiers. All the efforts of the Moslems were directed to that part of the wall between the gates of Damascus² and Joppa, on the north side of the city, but west of the point where Godfrey had effected his entrance. All the arts of war were called into service by the besiegers, which neither prayers nor invocations could defeat; a mine was formed at the north-west angle of the wall, a breach effected, and the defence abandoned. Happily the sultan deferred the assault; but no bribes could induce the dispirited soldiers to stop the gap, and on the following day it was carried. A proposal to surrender on terms was rejected with scorn, and the hour of retribution for the former enormities of the crusaders seemed to have arrived; but despair had succeeded to fear in the hearts of the Christians: the few

² Should Mr Addison, to whose full and most interesting account, p. 172, &c. (extracted from the narrative of an eyewitness of these scenes) I am here indebted, see this note, and take the trouble to consult the first part of the last chapter but one in this volume,

he will understand why I substitute for modern readers "Damascus" for "St Stephen," and will probably avail himself of this and some few other corrections, in a future edition of his work; which deserves to go through many.

knights of the two military orders, who still remained, were the salvation of their brethren, in their last extremity. They charged the enemy with determined resolution, and drove them from the breach; and Saladin, fearing further results of their desperation, now listened to the proposal which he had lately rejected; a capitulation much more lenient than they had a right to expect was granted, and the Moslems took quiet possession of the city. Ten gold bizants for every man, five for women, and one for children under seven years of age, was the price stipulated for liberty and security; hard terms indeed for the poorer class, whom they necessarily enslaved, but infinitely easier than those which they had proposed under similar circumstances—death in war, or death in peace. The Templars and Hospitallers, faithful to their vows, devoted all their funds to rescue their poorer brethren, whom they escorted in safety to Tripoli; but many were led captive by their conquerors, and bitter were their tears in the house of their bondage¹.

The dismay of Christendom at the fall of Jerusalem was equalled only by the joy of the Moslems at its recovery, which they celebrated with all imaginable tokens of gratitude. The Koran was restored to the pulpit, the voices of the Muezzim again called to prayer, the mosks rung with the shout of victory and the confession of Islam. The holy rock was disencumbered from its abominations, and extreme was the horror of the Moslems to discover that it had suffered diminution by violence. The walls and pavement were

¹ It is computed that 14,000 men, women, and children, were reduced to slavery at this time. Addison's *Templars*, p. 178. *Jalál-Addín*, p. 221, complains that universal corruption was practised by those who collected

the ransom, but that 100,000 dinars came into the treasury notwithstanding (p. 221); before and after which is a full and wordy account of these transactions, which I use.

purified from Christian defilement with rose-water from Damascus, the golden cross, torn from its height to be replaced by the crescent, was dragged in dishonour through the streets amid the triumphant exultation of the Moslems, while the weeping Christians tore their hair, beat their breasts, and rent their garments at the heart-rending sight of such awful desecration! The lodgings of the Templars on the west of el-Aksa, with their granaries and offices, were removed, all things were restored to their former condition, and the mosques richly furnished with lamps and carpets. The sultan soon afterwards left for Tyre, having written an account of his successes to the khalif of Bagdad, and given the necessary instructions for the repair of the fortifications². After an ineffectual attempt upon Tyre, he departed to Damascus.

But the gallant defence of Tyre by the youthful Conrad of Montferrat, the arrival of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, of Philip Augustus of France, and Richard Plantagenet of England; the long and obstinate siege of Acre, and its ultimate surrender to the Christians; their slow advance along the coast, debating every inch of ground with determined valour until they reached the mountain-barrier of Judæa, whose narrow defiles, guarded by the squadrons of Saladin, defied their further progress;—these, with the daring deeds of the military friars, and the feats of prowess displayed by the lion-hearted monarch in the fields of Ascalon, must be sought for in other quarters³: only one effect of this formidable but unsuccessful enterprize can be mentioned here.

On the advance of the Christian army towards the south,

² Addison's Templars, p. 182, &c.

³ The reader cannot do better than
consult the interesting volume so often

referred to above, from the pen of Mr
Addison.

through the bloody fields of Cæsarea and Arsouf, the fortifications of Ascalon, Lydda, and Ramlah, were demolished by the sultan, who determined to concentrate all his forces on the principal point of attack¹. He repaired in person to Jerusalem to superintend the preparations for defence which were there in progress. He took up his quarters in the deserted hospital of the Knights of St John, and devoted all his energies to the work. The labourers furnished by the governor of Mosul, aided by 2000 Christian prisoners, were employed in digging a deep fosse, and erecting a wall of massive stones with the materials thus provided. Their principal exertions were directed to the northern part of the wall, between the Damascus gate and that of the great Altar, afterwards called the gate of Abraham², formerly the most assailable part of the fortifications, but now strengthened with bastions. Aadel prince of Kerak, brother of Saladin, was set over the work, but the sultan himself was personally present from morning to night, encouraging the workmen by his exhortations, and stimulating them by his own example: bringing stones in the saddle-cloth on his horse, until his zeal was emulated by the inhabitants of all conditions, and the work of many years was accomplished in six months. But the precautions were unnecessary. The Christians were effectually checked at Beit-nubah, or Latrun, the entrance to the hill-country of Judæa; once indeed a party forced its way as far as Kolonia, not more than five miles from the city, but were glad to save themselves

¹ I have followed the Arabic history of Jerusalem, contained in a French translation in Von Hammer's *Fundgraben des Orients*, Vol. iv. pp. 215—237.

² The Damascus gate is called by

my author Bab-el-Amoud, the gate of the column, by which name it is still known. The other gate I cannot identify, but I think it must be the small gate now closed, marked as the gate of Herod, east of the Damascus gate.

by a precipitate retreat. Soon after a truce was concluded, and the English king set out on his disastrous return.

The combined armament of the three most potent monarchs of Europe arrived either too late or too early to accomplish its object. Had it reached Palestine in time to prevent the fatal battle of Tiberias, or to secure the victory of the Christian arms, or after that the death of Saladin had left his dominions to be weakened by the divisions or dissipated by the rivalry of his successors, the crusaders might have retained or renewed possession of the Holy City. But now all was vain.

On the death of Saladin, his son Efdhal succeeded to the government of Syria, and another son, Aziz, to the throne of Egypt. The latter conspired with his uncle Aadel to expel Efdhal from Damascus, and Aadel seized the government of Syria. Aziz died shortly after, leaving as his successor Mansour-Mohammud his son, a child of nine years³. The emirs invited his uncle Efdhal to the regency, which he accepted. An unsuccessful attempt to revenge his wrongs, and recover his former dominion from the usurper, led to his ruin, and Aadel became master of Egypt, which he governed nineteen years; when on his death his dominions were again divided between his two sons, Moazzam Yosa and Kamel Abd-el Maali Mohammad; the former of whom possessed himself of Syria, leaving Egypt to his brother. It was during this reign, when the Franks had taken Damietta by assault, that Yosa, fearing their projects against Jerusalem, sent a party of sappers and miners to destroy its

³ The history of the Eyoub dynasty, after the death of Saladin, is contained in the same Arabic history, continued in Vol. v. pp. 145—156, in *Fundgraben des Orients*. See also,

Jalál-Addín, p. 264, &c. Addison's *Templars* contains all the events of the crusaders at this period, from the best authorities.

fortifications, and the city was wholly dismantled. Two years later it was proposed by the brothers to cede Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tiberias, and all the places on the coast conquered by Saladin, retaining only Kerak and Chaubek, on condition of the Franks evacuating Damietta. The liberal proposal was rashly declined; an indemnity of 300,000 ducats being demanded for the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem, in addition to the cession of the reserved fortresses. The Franks were soon after forced to capitulate, under very different terms—the unconditional surrender of their highly-valued prize!

A few years after this, the reinforcement of the Franks and the divisions of the house of Eyoub, put the former in possession of the ruins of Jerusalem: Kamel of Egypt, meditating an attack on his nephew Nasir David, the successor of Yosa at Damascus, entered into a correspondence with the Emperor Frederic the Second, then the champion of the Christian cause in the East, which resulted in an armistice on the following conditions. The Franks were to receive Jerusalem with its ruined walls, which they were not to rebuild, nor to violate the sanctity of es-Sakhrah es-Sherif, or of Masjid-el-Aksa, but Christians and Moslems should have equal liberty to visit and worship at those holy places. Lastly, only the villages on the road from Acre to Jerusalem should belong to the Christians. Thus was Jerusalem again delivered over to the Franks, to the infinite disgust of the Moslems; and Nasir did not neglect the opportunity thus afforded him of injuring the reputation of his uncle, by procuring an eloquent preacher to pronounce a panegyric on the Beit-el-Makuddus, and the injury done to Islam by its surrender to the infidels. His touching elegy drew tears from the auditors!

At the close of ten years, Saleh Nejmed-din Eyoub, the

son of Kamel, having received intimation that the Franks, in contravention of the stipulation, were engaged in repairing the wall of Jerusalem, marched to the city. Having besieged and taken it, he levelled with the ground the Castle and Tower of David, which had been spared on its former demolition. Once again after this it reverted to the possession of the Franks, four years after their expulsion; when they availed themselves of their unrestricted liberty to rebuild its walls and occupy its mosks; and a worthy disciple of the prophet, who passed through Jerusalem during the period of their occupation, has recorded with expressions of horror that he had seen with his own eyes the profanation of the noble rock, by cups of wine placed on it by the monks; and other scenes scarcely less afflictive. But the heart of Kadi Jemal-ed-din Ibn-Wasil was soon comforted. The approach of the wild Carizmian hordes, invited to the aid of the Sultan of Egypt, alarmed the small garrison of the city; its defence was declared hopeless, its walls abandoned to the invaders, and the disastrous battle at Gaza hastened the downfall of the Christian cause in the East.

The subsequent history of Jerusalem may be told in few words. The defenceless state of the city was the protection of its inhabitants from further molestation during the expiring struggles of the crusaders, whose ruin was hastened by the conquests of Bendocdar, the first Mamluk sultan of Egypt, and consummated by the fall of Acre before the victorious arms of Kelason. The historical importance of Jerusalem terminates with the expulsion of the Franks from the country. As a military position it would be utterly insignificant in modern warfare, did not the approaches to the city and the mountains which command it present a serious obstacle to the operations of heavy artillery. Its

inhabitants have acted wisely, however, in not trying the fortune of war.

At the commencement of the 16th century the Mamluk sultans exercised little more than a nominal jurisdiction over Syria. A western traveller¹, who visited the Holy City A.D. 1507, with letters from the Egyptian court, purchased at a high price at Cairo, derived little benefit from them at Jerusalem. The governor indeed received them with every token of submission and reverence, placing them on his head and kissing them; but "backshish"² alone could open his heart, and unclosethe doors of the Holy Sepulchre to the pilgrims.

Ten years after this, the shadow of power vanished before the arms of the Ottoman sultan, Selim I. A.D. 1517, who visited Jerusalem in person both before and after his conquest of Egypt. His successor Soleiman (A.D. 1542) erected a monument at Jerusalem, which remains to this day, in the well-built walls which surround the city; and his name is perpetuated, but probably not immortalized, by inscriptions in various parts. From this period the Holy City has been the scene of a warfare of a different character, the circumstances of which I pass over without regret to myself or injury to the reader³. Not a year, scarcely a month,

¹ Baumgarten visited Palestine in 1507. His words are: "*Nihil tunc nobis literæ Soldani...profuerunt, pro quibus octo seraphos in Cayro expromseramus; licet eas dominus Hierosolymæ cum summa acceptas et exosculatas reverentia, capitique suo superimpositas legisset...ad nummos ire oportebat, eorum uti opera, eorum fulciri præsidio. Datis itaque viginti seraphis intrandi templi et sepulchri vendita nobis licentia.*" Peregrinatio,

p. 81. One might imagine it written last year!

² "Backshish," or "present," is the first and last word which will ring in a traveller's ears who now visits this country.

³ A full account of this period I have met with in M. Mouravieff's History, but it is not only most unedifying, but deeply distressing and humiliating.



has passed for three successive centuries without disputes between the three principal Christian communities which divide the sacred city. Suffice it here to say, that the limits fixed to their respective possessions within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as shown in the coloured Plan, have been invaded by hostile encroachments, and defended, inch by inch, with an animosity which, however creditable to their veneration for the holy places, is most disgraceful in every other view. It was even suspected that the destruction of the sacred building by fire, at the commencement of this century, was the result of the disappointment of the Armenians in a contest for the acquisition of power over the Greek possessions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and although the charge is not proved by the mere fact of the fire having originated in their church, yet the imputation of such awful sacrilege demonstrates the spirit that animates those who could insinuate it. Though the circumstances of that fire are not of sufficient interest to call for a detailed account, the only fact which I would record is certainly a most remarkable one. The heat was so excessive that the marble columns which surrounded the circular building in the centre of which stood the Holy Grotto, were completely pulverized. The lamps and chandeliers, with the rest of the vessels of the church, brass and silver and gold, were melted like wax; the molten lead from the immense dome which covers the Holy Sepulchre poured down in torrents; yet the Holy Cave itself received not the slightest injury, externally or internally; the silk hangings and ornaments remaining unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not even having passed upon them⁴.

⁴ I have read the Greek account of | by M. Mouravieff; and the Frank
the fire in the History of Jerusalem, | version, by a Frenchman, in Mr Arun-

This sad calamity happened on the 12th of October, 1808, and destroyed both the churches of the Resurrection and of the Holy Golgotha, and all the buildings connected with them. They were restored in the following year, at an immense expense, chiefly borne by the Greek Christians, and so exactly after the model of the former building, that they might be thought identical.

Jerusalem has since shared the fortunes of Syria, without having in any way guided them, or being materially affected by them. It passed into possession of Ibrahim Pasha in 1832, and was restored to the Ottoman power after the memorable bombardment of Acre, in November, 1840¹; having in the interim suffered the dishonour of a capture from the undisciplined Fellahîn—the “bold peasantry” of Palestine, who held possession of it for some weeks. It has latterly enjoyed the distinction of a resident pasha, having been formerly subject to the pashalic of Damascus; but since the united wisdom of Europe has thought fit to destroy despotism and restore anarchy in the country, it has experienced, as may be supposed, a questionable security; the tranquillity of which is liable at any moment to be disturbed by the lawless sheiks of the country, whose violence Ibrahim Pasha was alone able to repress by the terrors of the sword. Even while I write a report has reached Europe, that in a late outbreak of one of the most powerful chiefs in the country, he has had the insolence to attack the Holy City! So low has she now fallen who defied for months the arms of Imperial Rome!

del's Illustrations of Jerusalem, &c. p. 46, &c. which is within the reach of English readers. The accounts are consistent with each other.

¹ An account of the return of Jeru-

salem to its allegiance to the Porte, may be seen (if any one cares to see how revolutions are managed at Jerusalem) in Mr John's work on the Anglican Cathedral Church, &c. p. 4, note 1.

And now, who shall venture to dissipate the darkness of that night in which the wisdom of Providence has been pleased to envelope the events of futurity? Who shall declare the future destinies of the Holy City? That it is yet to be the theatre of great and important actions, may be concluded with sufficient warrant from the language of inspiration; and some who have most deeply studied the pages of prophecy, look to it as the appointed scene of the last great struggle of antichrist, and of the revelation of the Son of Man². The restoration of the Jews is by many expected to precede this final consummation; and the remarkable preservation of that wonderful people must be regarded as a striking confirmation of their view who plead for a literal fulfilment of prophecy, besides that higher spiritual interpretation which has met with its accomplishment in the people of Christ, who are "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Whether the declining power of the Ottoman empire will retain its feeble hold of Palestine until the hour for that restoration arrive, it were presumption to determine. The days of that empire seem indeed to be numbered, and infatuation, the precursor of destruction, is apparent in its counsels. Are the Jews as yet prepared to receive their possessions, if such be indeed the Divine purpose concerning them? Awful indeed were the prospect of their restoration in an unconverted state. The preceding pages have shewn how the spirit with which they are animated against the disciples of Christ has manifested itself on various occasions, without provocation; and when we call to mind the many centuries of oppression and bloody persecution which they have endured,

² I shall not be expected to enter on a prophetical disquisition. I only adopt what appears to myself the most

probable interpretation of Holy Scripture; but I hope I should not dare to dogmatize on a subject so awful.

without the opportunity of retaliation or revenge, the long catalogue of wrongs and insults meekly borne, but treasured up in the dark recesses of the unregenerate heart against a day of retribution, who can contemplate without a shudder the consequences of their speedy restoration to power and political independence?

If, then, in mercy to the Church, their restoration be delayed until the blessed influences of the gospel of Christ have penetrated their hearts, enlightening them with the precepts of love, and teaching them to bless and pardon their persecutors, what is to be the condition of Palestine during this interval?

I cannot forbear adducing the opinion of a popular French writer on this subject¹. It need scarcely be said that the first object in a plan of operations in any part of the globe, must, according to a Frenchman's theory, be the humiliation of England; "that terrible vulture of the political world, who has pounced upon Mount Lebanon, the borders of the Nile, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean; whose only idea of civilization is to convert the world to her own advantage. The welfare of the human race demands that vigorous obstacles be offered to the monstrous developement of Britain's power. In order that the fall of the Ottoman empire may subserve the cause of civilization in the East, she must be checked. The only means to effect this is the union of France and Russia. The active and persevering spirit of the latter, requires the genius of France to enable her to fulfil her destinies; and France, on her side, demands this grand support to enable

¹ M. Poujoulat, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, p. 275. I only adduce the passage as a specimen of French policy

in the East, and as a hook on which to hang a few remarks.

her to triumph over an enemy whose glory is of necessity the abasement of her own. Austria will of course assist. This accomplished, France, the champion of the faith, guided by her conquering genius, is to plant the Cross on all the Asiatic capitals, as thirty years ago she planted her standard on all the capitals of Europe; and the regeneration of the East is to be accomplished by her missionaries²!”

Now, without advancing any claim to political discernment, still less to prophetic prescience, I venture to pronounce that there is no combination further without the reach of probability than this—no expectations less likely to be realized. Russia must forget the French invasion and the sacking of Moscow—both must forget the memorable retreat for which Russia offers her annual *Te Deum*, before such a coalition as that here contemplated can be effected; and the holy orthodox Church of the East, the church of the Russian empire, must acknowledge the papal supremacy, whose claims she has resisted since they were first advanced, before she will delegate to French priests the duties which she is commissioned to perform. The protection of the oppressed Christians in the East has devolved on the Autocrat of Russia; it is his high prerogative, it is his solemn duty as a Christian and as a faithful son of the holy Church catholic. That duty he will perform. The establishment of the orthodox Church in his dominions commends it to his special regard; the extension of their limits so as to comprehend the seat of the chief

² This flourish will be thought to be exaggerated by me; I can assure the reader that I translate the nonsense

verbatim, and have omitted as much equally silly. But the passage will repay a perusal.

patriarch of the Armenians, has entitled that important community to his countenance and support; and the fact, of the frontiers of the two most formidable Mahommedan powers bordering on his immense empire, gives a weight to his arbitration which no other Christian sovereign can exercise. And I confess that when I observed the silent and beneficial influence of Russia, as exercised by her representatives in the East, with a degree of impartiality which I did not expect, but especially when I contrasted it with the busy, restless interference of the French political agents, aiming only at the aggrandisement of Rome, with a love too fierce even for its favoured objects, I could not participate in the jealous and suspicious fears with which my countrymen are wont to regard Russian diplomacy. And further, when I discovered that the laws of Russia have contrived to reconcile the firmest possible support to the national church, with the greatest degree of toleration to other religious communities, better than any country¹, I could not but feel that the extension of those laws might prove most salutary to the East in its present distracted state. On the other hand, the suppression of many ancient sees in Georgia, on its annexation to the empire at the commencement of the last reign, with the subjection of the whole Church to the Holy Governing Synod of Russia, whose constitution is not unexceptionable in itself, and which certainly could exercise no rightful jurisdiction over independent bishops without the free consent of their church,—had led me to apprehend an uncanonical interference with

¹ In proof of the former, I appeal to the *Ustaf*, or Code of Laws for the Regulation of the Holy Governing

Synod, &c. &c.; and to the testimony of foreign residents in Russia for the latter.

the ancient patriarchates, in the event here contemplated. But these apprehensions have been much allayed by the liberal and enlightened policy displayed on occasion of the late vacancy in the highest dignity of the Armenian church, when a free election² by the whole body was not only allowed, but invited and ensured, by the high authority of an imperial ukase; and if the report of some late enactments had awakened alarm in behalf of the Jews, whose interests demand the second consideration in all views of Eastern politics, a more accurate knowledge of the facts of the case, and the very promulgation of an edict affecting them, dictated by a spirit of consideration worthy of a Christian monarch³, has convinced me that the lives and liberties of the Israelites would be no less safe in the custody of Russia than of any other Christian power.

England has already shown what she can and what she will do in the East. She spread the wings of her protection—to adopt the Frenchman's comparison of the vulture—over the persecuted Jews at Damascus, because they were friendless and oppressed; and if she did light

² “The free election of the Patriarch Narcissus to the highest dignity of the Armenian church, which took place at Etchmiazine, April 17th, 1843, and was confirmed by an imperial ukaze, August 10th, in the same year, is the more honourable to the emperor, because there was not the slightest doubt of the unanimous election of a prelate who had been so unfortunate as to fall under the suspicion or displeasure of the government. That prelate was so elected, and no objection offered. The appointment had been

for centuries in the hands of the Porte, where all has been carried by bribery. Who would not desire that the most disgraceful simoniacal proceedings, relating to the orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople, might be terminated in the same manner? and what other European sovereign would permit a free election by the whole Church?”

³ I allude to an ukaze, dated Gatchina, November 13—25, 1844, addressed to the minister of public instruction, relating to the education of the Jews.

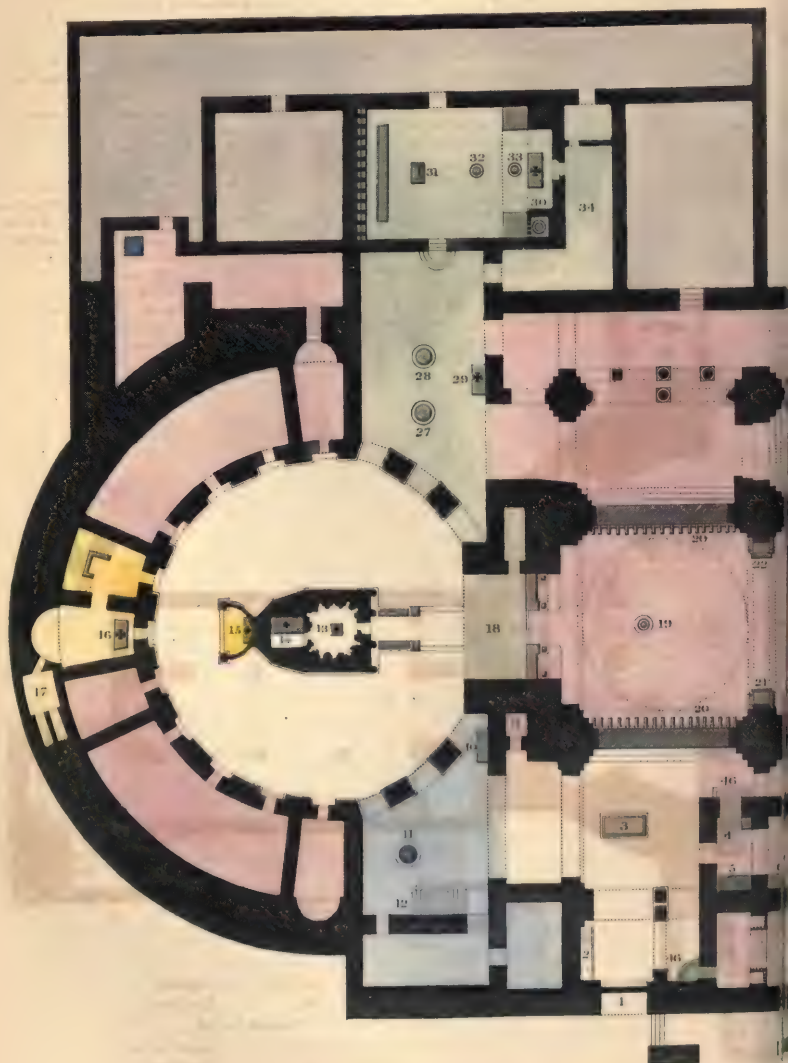
upon Mount Lebanon for awhile, it was that she might defend the lives and liberties of the Maronites, endangered by the fury of the Druses, or the bigotry of the Turks; and this she did for the name of Christ which they bore, though she knew them to be the stanchest Romanists in the world. She procured for the Syrian Jacobites an order for the restoration of six churches and monasteries between Damascus and Aleppo, which the Latins, aided by their French allies, had unjustly seized; and this she did not from enmity against Rome or France, still less from sympathy with Monophysite heresy, but as an act of justice, which had been grossly outraged. This is the gauge of England's policy in the East. She will protect the weak against their oppressors, without respect of persons. She will procure the administration of evenhanded justice to all alike as far as her influence extends. Nay, she has done much more.

Acting through the moral weight of her ambassador to the Porte, whose uncompromising firmness and irreproachable uprightness command the respect while they provoke the hatred of the most corrupt court in the world, she has broken down the mighty barrier of Mahomedan prejudices, and cast an ægis over all the Christians of the East, beneath which they may henceforth enjoy full liberty of conscience, free from the terrors of penal statutes; and she will use all her endeavours that those merciful enactments be respected in their fullest meaning. This is what England has done; this is what, by God's help, she will continue to do; and woe to those who attempt to *check* her while she holds on in this course. Rather let the other nations of Europe imitate her enlightened policy; and if the balance of power can only be maintained by upholding the integrity of the Ottoman empire, at least let them

provide that its protracted existence occasion no detriment to the Christian name, nor hinder the progress of that faith to which they owe all the superiority, moral, religious, and political, which they now enjoy over that power which was once the terror of the world.



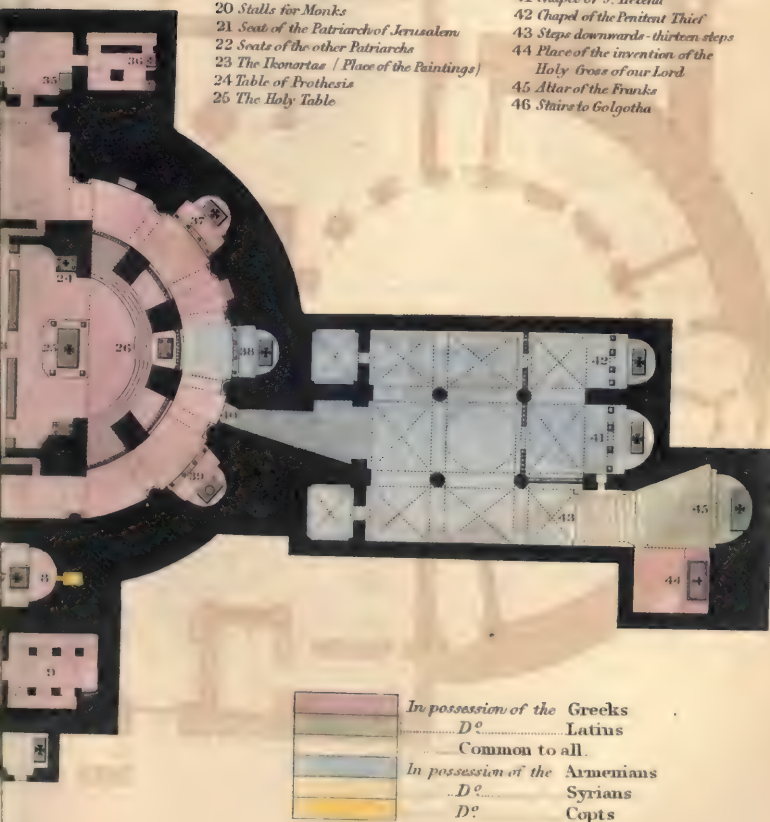
*Plan of the Church of the Resurrection
or Holy Sepulchre
at Jerusalem.*



0 10 20 30 40 50

REFERENCE

- 1 Entrance to the Church
- 2 Place for the Turkish Guards
- 3 Stone of Unction
- 4 Tomb of King Godfrey
- 5 Tomb of King Baldwin
- 6 Tomb of Melchisedech
- 7 Chapel of St. John the Baptist & Adam
- 8 Fissure in the rock of Golgotha
- 9 Robing rooms
- 10 Altar of the Armenians
- 11 Place where the B^d Virgin Mary stood when the body of Christ was anointed
- 12 Entrance to the lodgings of the Armenians
- 13 Place of the Stone rolled from the Sepulchre
- 14 Tomb of our Saviour
- 15 Altar of the Copts
- 16 Altar of the Syrians
- 17 Tomb of Joseph & Nicodemus
- 18 The Arch called Imperial
- 19 Centre of the Greek Church
- 20 Stalls for Monks
- 21 Seat of the Patriarch of Jerusalem
- 22 Seats of the other Patriarchs
- 23 The Iconostas / Place of the Paintings
- 24 Table of Prothesis
- 25 The Holy Table
- 26 Throne of the Patriarch
- 27 Where our Lord appeared to Mary Magdalene in the likeness of a Gardener
- 28 Where Mary Magdalene stood
- 29 Altar of the Franks
- 30 Part of the Pillar to which our Lord was bound
- 31 Church of the Roman Catholics
- 32 Place in which our Lord appeared to His Mother after his Resurrection
- 33 Place of the recognition of the Cross
- 34 Robing place for the Franks
- 35 The bonds of Christ
- 36 Chapel of the Virgin
- 37 Chapel of Longinus the Centurian
- 38 Chapel of the parting of our Lord's garments
- 39 Chapel of the mocking, where is also the pillar on which our Lord was seated
- 40 Stairs going down forty nine steps
- 41 Chapel of St. Helena
- 42 Chapel of the Penitent Thief
- 43 Steps downwards - thirteen steps
- 44 Place of the invention of the Holy Cross of our Lord
- 45 Altar of the Franks
- 46 Stairs to Golgotha



	In possession of the	Greeks
	D ^o	Latins
		Common to all.
	In possession of the	Armenians
	D ^o	Syrians
	D ^o	Copts



THE HOLY CITY.

PART II.





“ Even the lifeless stone is dear
For thoughts of HIM.”

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND DR ROBINSON'S TOPOGRAPHY.

OF all the topographical questions relating to Jerusalem those connected with the position of Mount Calvary are so incomparably the most important, that no further explanation will be asked for giving them precedence ; and if any apology be required for attempting a defence of the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it is offered in the con-

sideration that the credit of the whole Church for fifteen hundred years is in some measure involved in the question.

The interest which every Christian must feel in the establishment of a fact, which was appealed to in former ages as an evidence of our Lord's resurrection¹, might not unnaturally predispose us to believe it on insufficient grounds; and however we may pity or despise the credulity, we cannot but envy the simplicity of the devout pilgrim, who with real sincerity of heart gives himself up to the influence of those associations which these sacred localities are calculated to awaken, ignorant alike of arguments for or against their identity with the scenes of his Saviour's humiliation and glory, and undisturbed by any doubts. Granting it to be a delusion, it is to him at least a pleasing and a profitable delusion, implicating him in no guilt; and he might reasonably regard the wisdom, which would rob him of his gratification, as folly, and count his ignorance the greater bliss. But were nothing more serious than this involved, the question would be one of comparatively little importance, and we might be content to relinquish the point, with a feeling of regret for ourselves, and of surprise at those who had taken so much pains to perform the thankless office of shaking our confidence in a harmless opinion so long and so fondly cherished.

But when the moral character of one important branch of the Church, if not of the whole Church, is at stake, the question assumes a graver aspect, and we are bound in charity, if not in gratitude, to weigh with the most suspicious jealousy the evidence which would convict of deliberate fraud and shameless hypocrisy, not only the bishops and clergy of the church at Jerusalem, but the brightest lights of the universal Church at a period which we have been taught to regard as "uncorrupt," when Christianity was "most pure

¹ St Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. x. 19. See Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, cap. xviii.

and indeed golden²." For the plea of ignorance can hardly be admitted in their behalf, and would scarcely be an extenuation of their fault if it could³. They were impostors, and not dupes—or they had sufficient evidence to believe that they had really recovered the Sepulchre of our Lord. And it is remarkable that the strongest objection that has been urged against the authority of the tradition is such as it would have been most easy to obviate,—such as an impostor, if he had any of the art of his profession, would have been certain to foresee and most careful to anticipate.

Supposing Macarius to have failed in his endeavours to ascertain the true site, and his principles to have allowed him to commit "a pious fraud"⁴ in the invention of a fictitious one, it is inconceivable that he should have presumed so much on the ignorance or credulity of the emperor and all his contemporaries, to say nothing of succeeding generations, as to fix upon a spot which common sense or common observation would shew them to have been within the ancient city⁵. So that instead of arguing against the tradition, as

² Our Homilies invariably speak of the Church of the 4th century in these and such-like terms, and of its bishops, &c., as "godly learned men."

³ "The Quarterly Reviewer of December 1841, professes to consider it only a question of 'poetic statement,' 'fond reminiscences,' 'reverential feelings,' 'pleasing visions,' and the like; and contrasts them with 'the stern voice of truth,' &c. &c.: whereas the simple question is, whether we shall consider the Church of the 4th century very credulous or very profligate." Newman's Preface to Fleury, p. cliv. n. e.

⁴ The words are Dr Robinson's. Vol. II. p. 80. "The alleged dis-

covery of them (Golgotha and the tomb) by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the Cross, may not improbably have been the work of pious fraud. It would perhaps not be doing injustice to the Bishop Macarius and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well-laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity." In these smooth words they are charged with *ambition*, *fraud*, *falsehood* and *hypocrisy*, of the most aggravated character—and "no injustice done them!"

⁵ The following remarks of Mr Newman are as weighty as they are

its impugnors are accustomed to do, from the probable extent of the ancient city, it would be much more reasonable, in considering so very uncertain and difficult a question as the course of the second wall, to take into account that less than three centuries after our Lord's ascension, the place now called Calvary was said to have been without its range: because, the more improbable the supposition, the better reason must there have existed for marking this as the spot; since the fact of the crucifixion and place of sepulture being "without the gate" is not a modern discovery; it is plainly so written in holy Scripture, and all the ancient writers bear witness to it, and declare with one voice that the site then and now revered *was formerly without the city*, but brought within its bounds by a later disposition of the walls.

It must be considered in examining the question that the nature of the case does not admit of demonstrative proof; the most we can expect is a high degree of probability; and if we can divest ourselves of an undue prejudice against traditional evidence, we shall be ready to grant that there is a strong antecedent presumption on the side of a tradition which has antiquity and universality in its favour, and relates to a matter of such vast importance: and that it is fairly entitled to regard, and worthy of some degree of credit, until its veracity be clearly disproved. On subjects such as these

forcible. "Were Macarius or St Cyril and the clergy of Jerusalem the most covetous and unprincipled of hypocrites, why should this lead them to fix on a false site for our Lord's crucifixion and burial? Why should they not do their best to fix on the right one? Why should they subject themselves to an additional chance of detection, and give to persons like their present impugnors a gratuitous ad-

vantage; as if it were not enough to fabricate a cross, but they must hazard a superfluous mistake in respect to the sepulchre? Were they then knaves and impostors of the most appalling die, this would be no reason for their omitting, nay the strongest reason for their taking all possible pains to find the very and true spot where our Lord suffered." Preface to Fleury, p. clvii.

it seems safer and more wise, and is certainly more pleasant, to endeavour to reconcile apparently conflicting testimonies, so as to believe as much as possible, rather than to set them in opposition one to another, as though they could by no possibility be brought to agreement. It is our duty to guard as far as possible against the opposite extremes of credulity and scepticism.

And I cannot but think that there is something very unreasonable in the excessive prejudice of Dr Robinson against ecclesiastical tradition which led him *as a principle* "to avoid as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks¹" during his investigations in Palestine. I am satisfied that he would have done more justice to his subject, and have added much to the authority of his work in the eyes of some of his readers, if he had informed them of the opinion of Christians on the questions under discussion.

I will illustrate this by reference to a point of some little importance, though not immediately connected with the present subject.

In 1842, (October 7th and 8th) I visited Beit Jebrîn with a friend² deeply interested, like myself, in the investigation of the antiquities of Palestine. We read and studied Dr Robinson's proofs of the identity of this village with the site of

¹ Vol. I. p. 377. We shall see how far he is consistent with himself. "The native Arab population," to whom "solely he applied for information," are very apt to adopt, not merely the traditions of monks, but the suggestions of travellers, and to pass them off as authoritative. In 1843 I was pointed out, on the sea of Tiberias, the site of Bethsaida, where

a friend and myself had endeavoured to fix it in the preceding year, by the very boatman who on my former visit had denied all knowledge of such a name! He was a *native* Mahommedan.

² The Reverend John Rowlands, fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, to whom this volume is so much indebted.

Eleutheropolis¹. We were interested by his arguments, struck by his coincidences, carried away—as he himself seems to have been—by the romance of his measurements², but not fully *satisfied*, not thoroughly *convinced*. Some time after my friend, on his departure from Palestine, (January 10, 11, 1843) again visited this place, and again with the same result. He wrote me word, “I am not yet quite satisfied that Beit Jebrîn is ancient Eleutheropolis. I hope you will find an opportunity at some future time to visit ‘Es-Safieh’ or ‘Alba Specula’³, and see whether that may not be Eleutheropolis.” Meanwhile I had discovered, from a very intelligent Greek priest in the convent at Jerusalem⁴, that the continued tradition of his church, written and unwritten, had delivered that Beit Jebrîn does represent the Betogabra of Ptolemy and the Eleutheropolis of ecclesiastical history, and that they had no doubt of the fact. This placed the matter beyond all question in our minds, and I will venture to say that there are few persons who would not consider Dr Robinson’s arguments very much confirmed by this agreement, while there may be some with whom this simple testimony of the Greek church would have more weight than all his ingenious and learned arguments together; considering that the city to which the tradition refers was formerly an episcopal see and a place of great

¹ See Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 355—362, and 395—420, for a full description and for a discussion of the question.

² Especially pp. 403, 4. “I know not when I have felt more excitement of suspense than while travelling this short distance;” i. e. between Beit Jebrin and Idhna. I can quite sympathise with his feelings under such circumstances.

³ See Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 363—367.

⁴ It will be a pleasure to introduce the name of my worthy and excellent friend Papa Joel, Archimandrite, and formerly superior of the convent of the Archangel, and the hospitable entertainer of English and American missionaries at Jerusalem.

importance in Palestine⁵. But since, on the other hand, no tradition, however venerable, has force to counterbalance the evidence of the senses and of existing phenomena, or the authority of history, much less of holy Scripture, we are bound to examine objections which appear to be weighty and are by many supposed to be decisive, especially if they come recommended to us by a shew of learning and diligent research, and seem to have prevailed against the prepossessions of the objector⁶.

It will be unnecessary to notice the arguments of Dr Clarke against the authority of the Holy Sepulchre⁷, not only because it is evident that his indignation against what he calls "the farrago of absurdities," and his contempt for "the credulity for which no degree of preposterousness seemed too mighty," put it out of his power to consider the question calmly and dispassionately, and indisposed him for the investigation during his short visit to Jerusalem⁸, but

⁵ Witnessed not only by the character of the ruins still to be seen, (pp. 355, 6), but by history and by the fact of its being assumed as a terminus in the old Itineraries, *e. g.* Antoninus, Eusebius, and St Jerome.

⁶ This Dr Robinson states to have been the case with him, (Vol. II. pp. 69, 80), and we are bound to believe him. One cannot help remarking, however, that he was singularly unfortunate when all the received traditions relating to the passage of the Red Sea, the mountain of the Law at Sinai, the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the place of the Crucifixion and Burial, at Jerusalem, and of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, not to mention numberless others of less importance, failed to satisfy him. But for

his own declaration he would hardly have escaped the suspicion or imputation of mortal enmity to ecclesiastical traditions; which indeed he appears elsewhere to avow. See above, p. 257.

⁷ Indeed he grants that the identity of the Holy Sepulchre "has every evidence but that which should result from a view of the sepulchre itself." Vol. IV. p. 309, 8vo. ed. *i. e.* he is satisfied with the traditionary evidence, and sees no difficulty in the site; this will occupy us at present; the other point will be considered hereafter.

⁸ Really one cannot be sorry that a man who could write so indecently and irreverently as to call the pious Helena "an infatuated and superstitious old woman," and the saints and fathers of the 4th century "*ignorant* priests,"

because Dr Robinson may now be considered the champion of the opinion which that great traveller first published in England, and he has brought much learning and much research to the question, and done ample justice to the cause which he espoused. I shall therefore proceed at once to state some arguments against Dr Robinson's theories on points nearly affecting the question under debate—theories which if correct, would materially weaken, if not altogether destroy the authority of the tradition.

I am fully persuaded then, and hope to be able to prove, that Dr Robinson has entirely mistaken the position of Acra, the valley of the Tyropæon, and the gate of Gennath; and that there is not the slightest evidence that the pool, on which the greatest weight of his argument rests, is in fact the Pool of Hezekiah.

Referring to a former chapter for a descriptive account of Jerusalem as it existed in our Saviour's time¹, it will be sufficient here to remind the reader that Acra was the hill sustaining the lower city, separated from Zion or the "much higher" hill which contained the upper city, by the valley of the Tyropæon; and that the gate of Gennath was

should fall into the monstrous absurdity of placing Mount Zion south of the Valley of Hinnom! This surely, to use his own words, "is discordant not only with history, but with common sense;" this is indeed "wanton temerity:" and if instead of "breaking away from his monkish instructors," he had gone "peering through the spectacles of priests," all over Jerusalem, it may reasonably be doubted whether they would have required his assent to anything so

"preposterous" as this. Objecting to the received sites, he has the presumption to assign others for the Crucifixion and Burial! See his Plan of Jerusalem at the commencement of Vol. IV., and pp. 324, 5, 6. The spot assigned for the former must have been *within the ancient city!* But he does not seem to have read Josephus. He ran through Palestine, including Jerusalem, in fifteen days!

¹ See above, Part I. chap. ii. p. 104.

a place in the north wall of Zion, near which the wall encompassing Acra had its beginning².

This gate Professor Robinson wishes to place *near* the Hippic tower³, which occupied the north-west angle of the wall of Zion. "It must have been to the east of Hippicus," as he justly remarks, "for the *third* wall began at that tower;" and I agree with him in thinking that "it was probably not included within the second wall, in order to allow a direct passage between the upper city and the country." But the following considerations will oblige us to place it some considerable distance to the east of the Hippic tower.

The towers of Phasäelus and Mariamne stood not far from Hippicus on the first or ancient wall, which ran from the latter tower eastward to the temple, along the northern brow of Zion, which was here a rocky eminence, thirty cubits high⁴, and added greatly to the apparent height of

² Joseph. J. W. Lib. v. cap. iv. sect. 1, 2, and above, Part I. chap. ii. p. 105.

³ He says first (Vol. I. p. 411), "The second wall began at the gate of Gennath (*apparently* near Hippicus)." Then p. 453, Josephus, it is said, "assumed the ancient tower Hippicus as the starting point in his description of *all the city-walls*." Then p. 461, "This gate of Gennath in the first wall *doubtless* was near the tower Hippicus." And then (Vol. II. p. 67), "The second wall, *as we have seen*, began at the gate of Gennath, *near the tower of Hippicus*," &c. A process of reasoning which no stretch of charity can call logical; meanwhile not the slightest proof of this is attempted, except in a note on p. 462: "It must

have been on the east of Hippicus, for the third wall began at that tower. It could not however have been far distant, because that part of Zion was then high and steep. Joseph. J. W. v. 4. 4." This last remark is, I confess, perfectly unintelligible to me, and seems to disprove what it is adduced to prove. For how a city gate could have an exit where the wall was carried along a *perpendicular cliff thirty cubits high*, I cannot understand.

⁴ The professor writes, "above the valley of the Tyropæon;" but this is an assumption without any warrant from Josephus, who says not a word of a valley, and never in any one passage hints at the Tyropæon being near the Hippicus. His words are: "Τηλικούτοι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος, πολὺ

the towers. Connected with these three towers was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by the said wall on the north; so that the gate of Gennath must have been east, not of the Hippic tower only, but of both the others, and of the whole space on the north wall of Zion, occupied within by the palace of Herod, which was very extensive, comprehending not only "two immense chambers, so large and splendid that the temple itself could not be compared with them," "large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for one hundred guests apiece," and a vast number of other apartments, but "*many porticoes one beyond another, round about; and green courts, and groves of trees and long walks* through them, with fountains supplied by deep canals and cisterns²;" and abundant space for the encampment of soldiers³. The absurdity of supposing an exit for a city-gate through such a royal palace, and down a precipice of thirty feet, is obvious, and need not be insisted on.

But this is not all. After the taking of the outer and second wall, which gave possession of the new and lower city, Titus made his advances towards the fortress of Antonia in one quarter, and towards the upper city in another. We have only now to do with the latter. A bank was raised against the northern wall of Zion by the tenth legion, "at the pool called Amygdalon, as was done by the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, at the high priest's monument⁴." Now the former of these two banks must

μελζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον. αὐτό
τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν,
ἐφ' ὕψηλῳ λόφῳ δεδόμητο, καὶ τοῦ
λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα
προάνειχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ
ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δὴ τι τοῦ

μετεωρου προσελαμβανον." J. W. v.
iv. 4.

¹ Ibid. i. xxi. 1.

² Ibid. v. iv. 4.

³ Ibid. ii. xv. 5, and xvii. 7, 8.

⁴ Ibid. v. xi. 4.

have been somewhere east of the three towers, which “the Romans could not assail with their machines and towers⁵” on account of their great strength, aided as it was by the cliff below⁶, which would probably continue some further distance, and present an obstacle to the erection of the engines; while the latter was also west of the second wall; for not only would the existence of a sepulchral monument within the *old city* be unaccountable, whereas it would be quite natural within that which had been lately enclosed; but while the crowded buildings of the *old city* would have obstructed the operations of the soldiers, had the bank been raised within that wall, there would be no such impediment in this part of the *new city*, which was thinly inhabited⁷, and the outer wall once taken, afforded an easy passage to the third or inner wall, through which Titus had hoped to take the upper city.

It is not true then, as Dr Robinson asserts, that Josephus “assumed the tower Hippicus as the starting point in his description of *all the city walls* ;” for he says expressly that the second wall “had its beginning near the gate Gennath,” the position of which he leaves undetermined; yet the assumption that it was “doubtless near the

⁵ Bib. Res. i. 412; and Joseph. J. W. vi. viii. 4.

⁶ J. W. v. iv. 1, vi. viii. 4, and ix. 1.

⁷ Is it not uncandid of Dr Robinson to speak of “the existence of populous suburbs in this part,” “which must already have existed before the time of our Lord’s crucifixion?” (Bib. Res. ii. 69); for *this part* is expressly excepted by the Jewish historian, who states that on account of the new city being *thinly peopled* in this quarter,

the third wall was not so strongly built. It was on this part also that Cestius encamped his army within the outer wall opposite to the royal palace. J. W. ii. xix. 5. The populous part of the new city was on the north, not on the west. J. W. v. iv. 2. Josephus says: ταύτη γὰρ τό, τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρωμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δευτέρου οὐ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντων καθ’ ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνέκτιστο τειχίζεω. ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια, κ. τ. λ. J. W. v. vi. 2.

tower of Hippius," so far from being supported by any evidence from this author, is disproved by those incidental passages which have been now adduced; and had it been near he would probably have intimated it, as it is quite true that this is "assumed as the starting point of all the walls *except the second.*"

To proceed now to Acra, or the lower city. The simplest plan will be to compare the language of Josephus with the topographical notices of Dr Robinson, and see how far they are consistent.

In the language of Josephus, the ancient city "lay upon two hills, over against each other, separated by an intervening valley, at which the houses terminated¹." And his language throughout plainly implies that the city comprehended the whole of the two hills, Acra as well as Zion—that Acra was in fact a distinct hill. But Dr Robinson's Acra² is "the continuation, or rather the termination of the broad ridge or swell of land" to which "a comparatively modern tradition has given the name of Mount Gihon."

¹ Joseph. J. W. v. vi. 1, quoted by Dr Robinson, Vol. I. pp. 409, 10.

² His words are (p. 391):

"Acra.—North of Zion is the hill of Acra. It is the continuation or rather the termination of the broad ridge or swell of land which lies north of the basin at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, and extends down into the city, forming its N.W. part. Indeed the N.W. corner of the city-wall is directly on this ridge; from which spot the wall descends immediately towards the N.E., and also, though less rapidly, towards the S. E. To the whole ridge, both without and within the city, a comparatively modern tradition had given

the name of Mount Gihon; though there is no trace of any hill so named in Scripture or other ancient history."

In a note here he says: "The name of Gihon, as applied to this ridge, seems to be first mentioned by Brocardus about A.D. 1283" (cap. ix. in p. 391). In p. 351, he had thus spoken of this same ridge: "The whole interval between this gate (the Damascus) and Gihon, (called by him more correctly Hinnom, in the passage quoted above), is occupied by a broad hill or swell of land rising somewhat higher than the N.W. part of the city itself."

The principal part of this high rocky ridge is without the city, on the right of the Jaffa road, which traverses its southern edge, so that Dr Robinson's Acra is not a distinct hill, but the termination or declivity of a swell of land.

Again, Josephus asserts that the *two hills* on which the city stood, "were everywhere enclosed from without by deep valleys³;" but the wall enclosing the Professor's Acra "ran from near Hippicus northwards, *across the higher and more level part of Acra*⁴," leaving without towards the north-west, not a deep valley, but a broad ridge or swell of land, which is continued to a considerable distance⁵.

Further, Josephus invariably speaks of Zion as *higher* than Acra. "Of these two hills that which contains the *upper city* is *much higher*. It was called the citadel by king David; by us, the *Upper Market-place*. But the other hill, which was called Acra, sustained the *lower city*," and occupied "the lower hill⁶." But Dr Robinson's Acra is considerably higher than Zion, as is evident even from his own words. The Jaffa gate, it will be remembered, is at that tower which is supposed to occupy the site of Hippicus, and its situation at the north-west angle of Mount Zion is as high as any on this hill⁷; but "when one enters the Jaffa gate and takes the first street leading north" (*i. e.* to the Professor's Acra,) "immediately from the

³ J. W. v. iv. 1. "The only topographical notice of Josephus," says Dr Robinson, "as to which I have doubts," the language of which "is not literally exact," p. 414. But it will be found that he must apply the same summary mode of proceeding to other passages of this same author.

⁴ Yet in another passage he finds it convenient to bring it lower down ;

p. 392, note 1.

⁵ See Dr Robinson's *Plan of Jerusalem*, Vol. II., and *Bib. Res.* as above.

⁶ J. W. v. iv. 1, &c.

⁷ The only question could be at the Armenian convent; but the street leading to it from the castle is quite level, and the ascent, if anything, quite imperceptible.

adjacent open place, he has before him a *considerable ascent*, though afterwards the way is *more level* quite to the Latin convent¹." Indeed, this north-west angle of the modern city-wall is considerably higher than the highest point of Mount Zion; so much so that the *ground* here will be found nearly on a level with the top of the Armenian convent on Mount Zion, which is by far the loftiest building in Jerusalem², and the native rock is here visible above the surface of the ground, so that the theory of rubbish &c., can have no place.

Lastly. The broad valley which had once parted Acra from Moriah was filled up by the Asmoneans, so that these two hills became one; whereas the valley between Dr Robinson's Acra and Moriah has not been at all filled up, except by the accumulation of rubbish³, but remains most distinctly to this day, as he himself constantly testifies⁴.

¹ p. 391. This is not quite correct; from being more level at first, it becomes steeper as you approach the Casa Nuova and Latin convent, and still more so beyond, towards the north-west angle of the modern wall, without which is the large terebinth-tree, p. 345.

² I had frequent opportunities of remarking this. The house then occupied by our excellent consul stood in this quarter, and his garden extended to this angle.

³ "True, the valley of the Tyro-pæon, and that between Acra and Moriah, have been greatly filled up with the rubbish accumulated from the repeated desolations of nearly eighteen centuries. Yet they are still distinctly to be traced." p. 414. *Filled with earth* by the Asmoneans, and "*greatly filled up with rubbish*," &c., and still

"*distinctly to be traced*;" Acra still separated by a *broad valley* from Moriah!

⁴ See distinct mention of this "broad valley" between his Acra and Moriah in Bib. Res. i. pp. 392, 3, and p. 433, note 1. "*Moriah is separated from Acra by the valley which runs from the Damascus gate*," 393; and again, "the ground descends eastward from the Latin convent to the same church, (i. e. Holy Sepulchre), and then again by a *still steeper declivity* from the church to the street *along the valley between Acra and the area of the great Mosk*." And elsewhere he tells us that "all the western entrances of the mosk are reached by an ascent, and some of them at least by steps," p. 394. This does not look like the valley being filled up, and the two hills united. The words of the histo-

From this comparison then, if it be not rather a contrast, it will be sufficiently clear that the Acra of Dr Robinson does not at all answer to the description of the Jewish historian, whose authority is not to be questioned, for he is writing of localities with which he was perfectly familiar.

Again, I never could find any traces of the valley which Dr Robinson calls the Tyropæon; that which separated between Zion and Acra. Indeed, he himself seems to have had some difficulty in doing so; his first attempt was altogether unsuccessful⁵. He afterwards satisfied himself that he had discovered it in a "depression or shallow Wady (still easily to be traced) coming down from near the Jaffa Gate" in an *easterly direction*, until it joins another Wady, and "then continues obliquely down the slope, but with a deeper bed, in a *southern direction*, quite to the Pool of Siloam and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This is the ancient Tyropæon⁶."

rian are: "Over against this (*Acra*) there *was* a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and *parted formerly* from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asmoneans reigned, *they filled up that valley with earth, with the view of joining the city to the temple.* They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it." J. W. v. iv. 1. Dr Robinson has mistranslated this in order to avoid the obvious difficulty; *omitting* the word "*formerly*," and *inserting* the word "*partly*," p. 415; i. e. Josephus says "it had been *formerly separated*, but *was filled up.*" Dr Robinson, "it was

separated in Josephus' time, and had been only *partly filled up.*" Again, professing to follow Josephus he says: "They *threw earth into this valley, intending to connect,*" &c.; and again omits the words "*formerly separated*," p. 410. Is this honest? Dr Lightfoot, following Josephus, says that "Acra had been much levelled by the Asmonean family in the time of their reign; and the *valley betwixt well raised and filled up with earth,*" &c. Prospect of the Temple, cap. i. This surely is what any candid reader would gather from Josephus. Reland concludes so likewise.

⁵ Vol. i. p. 353.

⁶ p. 383.

Now, however "easy to be traced" this valley may be, I must confess that I could never discover it, during fourteen months' residence in Jerusalem, although I must have crossed it almost every day.

There is a street which runs down from the Jaffa Gate, almost in a direct line through the bazaars, to the enclosure of the mosk. Here, if anywhere, this valley must be looked for¹. Its course is at first immediately under the steep brow of Mount Sion, which rises on the right hand, once precipitous, now slanted off by ruins; but on the other side, *i.e.* on the left hand, there is not the slightest appearance of a rise, as a valley would require; the whole ground north of Zion declining equally towards the east; so that every street running from south to north is completely level—every street passing from west to east, a steep declivity².

Now when it is remembered that this valley was a marked feature in the topography of ancient Jerusalem; in the first instance dividing, as it would seem, two cities one from another, and ever afterwards presenting a distinct line of separation between the two hills of the incorporated city, it seems scarcely credible that the accumulation of rubbish and such like accidental causes should so far have obliterated it, as to leave no distinct traces behind.

¹ And there Dr Robinson finds it, p. 388. Writing of Zion he says: "Its northern part or brow is just south of the street which leads down directly east from the Jaffa gate, along the bed of the ancient Tyropæon." There is positively *not the slightest appearance of a valley here.*

² Dr Robinson attempts to alter the ground here, and to make a declivity from the Latin convent to the south-

east, in order to form the bed of his Tyropæon. In the passage immediately following that quoted, he says: "In the street leading north below the Pool of Hezekiah, and also in that along the bazaars, this *ascent is less perceptible.*" There is no ascent: the streets are completely level, and run along the eastern brow of what he calls Acra, on which, as he says, "the church of the Holy Sepulchre stands," p. 391.

But nothing has yet been said of the Pool of Hezekiah, which, if rightly placed by Professor Robinson, would bring that part of the modern city, and so the Holy Sepulchre, within the ancient walls; which could scarcely have passed between the Pool and the Sepulchre.

The following is the Professor's notice of the Pool of Hezekiah: "The Reservoir, now usually so called, lies some distance north-eastward of the Jaffa Gate, just west of the street that leads north to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre³."

Now, first, it will be necessary to correct a mis-statement in this passage, which is quite unaccountable. So far from this Pool being "usually called" by the name here given to it, it may be questioned whether there are fifty persons in Jerusalem who would know it by that name. The Professor himself tells us in a passage immediately following that just cited, that "*the natives* now call it Birket el Hummam, from the circumstance that its waters are used to supply a bath in that vicinity." I enquired diligently of the most learned Jews, of the most intelligent Greeks, of native Christians and Mahommedans, and never in one instance did I receive the name which Dr Robinson so confidently gives it. The Pool of the Bath, or the Pool of the Holy Sepulchre, are the only names by which they know it.

On what authority then does Dr Robinson rest? It is singular that with so strong a prejudice against "monkish traditions," especially if they happen to be "comparatively recent⁴," he should be found to attach weight to a tradition which, above all others in Jerusalem, is "monkish" and

³ p. 487.

⁴ The silence of Dr Robinson to the date of this tradition, cannot help

striking one as a very suspicious circumstance. He does not usually deal so with generally received traditions.

"comparatively recent." Quaresmius, a monk, and superior of the Frank Convent at Jerusalem at the beginning of the seventeenth century, appears to be the first writer who dignified this pool with the name which Dr Robinson has adopted for it; and he speaks with great hesitation. It was commonly known as the "Pool of the Holy Sepulchre;" *he thinks* that this is the pool spoken of in Isaiah xxii. 9, and *believes* that allusion is made to it in 2 Chron. xxxii. 30¹. With such an origin this tradition was handed down by the Latin monks, and received from them by English travellers, until it found its way at last into a modern plan of the city, though in a somewhat corrupted form². It was not so much as mentioned by the writers of the middle ages; and but for a passage in Josephus, I should conclude it to be of later date, for I could discover nothing in its structure to denote any great antiquity³.

The Chronicles of the Crusades are very explicit in their account of the fountains and pools on which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were dependent for their supply of water in that thirsty land. They severally enumerate those most celebrated, but one undertakes to give an account of *all*. He mentions the position of four very clearly, three of which still exist, the fourth has disappeared; but this of Dr Robinson has no place in his list; indeed, he virtually denies all

¹ His words are: "Intra civitatem esse alteram piscinam celebrem, præter Probaticam, quæ est a latere occidentali (Orientali?) castelli, parumque ad Aquilonem inclinans, ab eoque distat centum gressus, et a glorioso Christi Sepulchro ducentos circiter, et ab eo communiter piscina S. Sepulchri dicitur.....De hoc piscina arbitror loqui Dominum (Esa. xxii. 9) illis verbis, Et congregastis aquas piscinæ infe-

rioris.....Ad eamdam credo fieri allusionem illis verbis 2 Paral. xxxii. 30, Ipse est Hezechias," &c. Elucid. terræ sanctæ, Lib. vi. cap. viii. p. 4.

² It is marked in Mr Catherwood's very excellent but truly monkish plan, as "the pool of Ezekiel."

³ The large stones which Dr Robinson *heard of* may have belonged to any other building.

knowledge of its existence, for he says, "besides these four, there is no mention of any other pools in or about the city⁴." Yet its situation agrees so well with the Amygdalon or almond-pool mentioned by Josephus⁵, which I have shewn reason to believe was without the second wall, that I am disposed to conclude that it is noticed by that writer. It probably owed its origin to Herod the Great, and may have been designed for the supply of his palace, from which it would not be far distant⁶; and if this be so, the silence of the writer in question must be accounted for either by its being disused in those times, or not improbably filled with rubbish.

Some of the writers above referred to do indeed speak of the Pool of Hezekiah; and however clear it may be that they were mistaken, yet I think it would have been more candid in Dr Robinson to inform his readers that his pool had a rival—which certainly could show a much earlier title to this dignity, especially as he does refer to the passages—rather than leave them to conclude that his monkish tradition was as ancient and undisputed as they would argue it to be from the fact of its being so confidently received by one who objects to traditions of the 13th century as comparatively recent, and is so very suspicious of those which date as far back at least as the commencement of the fourth!

There existed formerly near the church of St Ann, within the St Stephen's gate, on the eastern side of the city, a large pool celebrated by all the writers of the age of the

⁴ "In Jerusalem autem vel circa, piscine aliæ non leguntur." Mar. Sanutus, Lib. III. Pt. 14, cap. x. He had mentioned Siloam, one *above* that; one by the Temple called by him the Sheep-pool, and now Bethesda; and one by the church of St Ann, of which

see the text forward.

⁵ See above, p. 262.

⁶ Josephus mentions a gate in the north wall of Zion, "by which water was brought into the Hippicus"—probably from this pool. v. vii. 3.

Crusades¹, and supposed at least by the latter to be the "Inner Pool" made by Hezekiah, and celebrated in scripture history. There seem to be insuperable objections to this tradition, which will be stated in a subsequent chapter; nor does it appear to be of sufficient antiquity to demand much respect; but it has been mentioned here to shew what very slender authority there is for the claims of Dr Robinson's pool, when so late as the 14th century it was not so much as mentioned, and the name which he assigns it given to another.

Having now endeavoured to dispose of all the arguments which have been adduced by Dr Robinson in support of his theory of Acra, or the Lower city, and the Tyropæon, and stated what appear to me insuperable objections to its reception, it will be incumbent on me to attempt a proof of that which I have to propose.

If the course of the valley of the Tyropæon can be ascertained, the position of Acra will be easily determined.

Now there is one and *only one* remarkable and well-defined valley passing entirely through the city, to which there is frequent allusion in the Professor's topographical notices², as commencing near the Damascus gate, and running in a southern direction to the Pool of Siloam. He indeed places "the ancient hills of Zion and Acra on the west of this broad valley, and on the east the lower ones of Bezetha and

¹ Gesta Dei, p. 573; Will. Tyr. viii. 4, fin.; Jac. de Vit. c. 63. Marinus Sanutus (1321), Lib. III. Pt. 14, cap. x.; Brocardus (1283), c. 10. These passages are referred to by Dr Robinson, note 1, on p. 490, but not a word about Hezekiah. He merely says, "it was called *piscina interior*, and is now apparently destroyed."

² See p. 345: from the Jaffa gate he "*descended to the Damascus gate.*" Again, p. 353, looking for the Tyropæon, he finds no valley or depression "before reaching the declivity stretching down to the Damascus gate." But see note 4 on p. 266 above, and B. R. p. 383.

Moriah ;” but this position will be found untenable, if it has not been proved so already. The fact is, what he calls Bezetha is the Acra of Josephus, and this “broad valley running down from the Dasmascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam³” is the Tyropæon. I proceed to the proof of these most important points in the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

It must never be forgotten that Jerusalem was originally two distinct cities united together by David. The intermediate space, or the valley of the Tyropæon, inclosed with walls to effect this union, is called in Scripture Millo, and elsewhere both in Scripture and in Josephus “the suburb⁴,” as belonging strictly to neither part of the city, but usually comprehended by the Jewish historian with Acra under the common name of the Lower City.

In his description of the temple we have the following

³ p. 393. It is singular how inadvertently he adopts almost the very words of Josephus in describing the Tyropæon. “Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ: *extended as far as Siloam*,” v. iv. 1. Had he been speaking of Dr Robinson’s imaginary right-angular valley, he could hardly have used this language: it would then either terminate at this “broad valley” running from north to south, which he makes it join (see above, p. 267), or bend round to Siloam.

⁴ For Millo, see above, p. 22, note 2. It is identified with the Tyropæon by Brocardus, who is followed by Adrichomius and others. Lightfoot (“*vir de geographia sacra optime meritus*,” as Reland calls him,) in a comment on a passage of Josephus, which

will be presently quoted, says, “*These suburbs* that he meaneth were indeed that part of the city which is in Scripture called Millo, which was the valley at the west end of Mount Moriah in which Jerusalem [i. e. Acra] and Zion met and saluted each other; replenished with buildings by David and Solomon in their times, (2 Sam. v. 9, and 1 Kings xi. 27), and taken in as part and suburbs of Zion, and so named always in after times.” And again: “Millo, which was an outer place and the suburbs of Zion, distinguished and parted from Zion by a wall, yet a member of it, and belonging to it.” Josephus rather makes it belong to Acra; though it is true that in the passage in question “he maketh Acra as another city from the suburbs.” In Scripture, Millo appears to be called once “the city of David.” See 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, in the Hebrew.

full and very clear account of the gates of the outer court on the western side :—

“In the western quarter of this outmost bound there were four gates; the first leading to the king’s palace, the valley being filled up for the passage; two others led into the suburbs; and the other into the other city, having many steps down into the valley, and many up again to the pitch or coming up¹.”

Now if we can discover the situation of the first mentioned of these four gates it will throw considerable light upon the question under discussion; for that the suburbs lay between the first and fourth gate, is sufficiently evident from Holy Scripture. Nor can any reason be assigned for their being taken by Josephus in any other than the order in which they stood.

In the account of the placing of the porters, under the first temple, we read that “To Shuppim and Hozah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up;” and again, “at Parbar westward four at the causeway, and two at Parbar².” Now this causeway, without all doubt, could be none other than that mentioned among the great works of Solomon, as “the ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord³.”

¹ Ant. xv. xi. 5. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπε-
ρίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέσ-
σαρες ἐφέστασαν. ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βα-
σίλεια τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος
εἰς διόδον ἀπειλημμένης, αἱ δὲ δύο εἰς
τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλ-
λην πόλιν. κ.τ.λ.

² 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, 18.

³ 1 Kings x. 5, and 2 Chron. ix. 4.
Lightfoot says: “The word ‘Shallech-
eth,’ by which name this gate was first

called in the time of Solomon, doth
signify ‘a casting up.’.....Now this
gate is said, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, to
have been by ‘the causeway going up,’
which *going up* is that renowned ascent
that Solomon made for his own passage
up to the temple. And the causeway
is that that Josephus meaneth, when
he saith, ‘a gate led to the king’s house
from the temple, the valley betwixt
being filled up for the passage,’ which

I have already declared my conviction that this is distinctly to be seen at this day⁴, and is traversed by the street which leads down from the bazaars to the southernmost gate of the western wall of the mosk, immediately without which is the Cadi's office, or Mekhemè; and it is a singular fact, that the very street which Dr Robinson represents as following the bed of the valley of the Tyropæon⁵ is carried along the ridge of an artificial mound! for the mound is clearly artificial, and not accidental, as he imagines⁶. About half-way between the bazaar and the Haram there is a path *southward*, by a very steep descent to the bed of the valley, *down* which it leads between prickly pears, to a small gate in the city-wall seldom opened⁷, and so to the Pool of Siloam; while nearer to the mosk there is an equally steep descent *to the north*, into a street which follows the same valley *up* to the Damascus gate.

By this causeway the aqueduct from the pools of So-

was a very great work, for the valley was large and deep." Vol. i. p. 1055, fol. ed.

⁴ See above, p. 22, Part i. cap. i.

⁵ See above, p. 268, note 1.

⁶ Bib. Res. Vol. i. p. 393. "In passing along this valley" (viz. that from the Damascus gate) "through the present street toward the south, apparently just before coming to the Tyropæon, one crosses over a small rise of ground. This is probably rubbish, the accumulation of ages, though the houses in the vicinity prevented us from ascertaining whether it extends quite across the valley. It is also possible that this mound may serve to carry the aqueduct from Solomon's pools into the area of the mosk; which is every where higher than the bottom

of this valley." This last conjecture is correct, as appears above; but the existence of the Tyropæon south of this causeway running down from the west, is purely imaginary. The west extremity of the causeway joins the north-east angle of Sion, which is a rock. Besides, how could the aqueduct cross such a valley here, so as to reach the causeway? No valley nor traces of one are to be seen.

⁷ Towards the latter end of the long summer of 1842 it was opened, and a guard stationed there; but merely for the purpose of facilitating the introduction of water to the city from the Bir Eyout. When the rains came it was again built up. It is marked in many plans as the Dung-gate.

lomon, after skirting the eastern brow of Zion, crosses the bed of the Tyropæon to the mosk, while deeper still is a large sewer which traverses the whole of Zion, and discharges itself into an immense chamber beneath the bed of the valley, near the covered arcade which conducts to the baths¹.

The palace of Solomon may have occupied the same site on the north-east angle of mount Zion, where stood the palace erected by the Asmoneans, and afterwards occupied by Agrippa²; and the causeway conducted from this palace to that gate of the temple, known by the name of "Shallecheth," "the gate of the casting up, or embankment³."

And now having fixed this gate, as Dr Robinson himself also does⁴, opposite to Zion, we must look for the other

¹ I am indebted for these interesting discoveries to the worthy consul-general of Prussia, Her Von Wildenbruck, who, during his visit to Jerusalem in 1842, was attended by a very intelligent cawass of the Pasha, who communicated to him the fact about the aqueduct, and shewed him its course down the causeway: I afterwards engaged the services of the same man to conduct me about the city, and give me further information on these points. A full account of the aqueduct from the pools will be given below, cap. iii. The sewer was discovered near the castle of David by Mr Johns, architect of the Jews' Society, in digging for the foundations of their church. It was 40 feet below the surface of the ground, (rubbish intervening,) partly cut through the rock and partly built, broken in in several places.

From the bazaars it is still in use.

² Joseph. Ant. xx. viii. 11.

³ "So, saith Kimchi (Michol in שלך), it is rendered by the Chaldee Paraphrast in the sense of השלכה." Lightfoot, Vol. i. p. 1055. He further says, that in the time of Herod's temple it was called the Gate of Coponius, probably from Coponius, general of the horse and ruler of Judæa under Cyrenius governor of Syria, who arrived about the time of the finishing of Herod's temple.

⁴ Bib. Res. Vol. i. p. 412. "We are informed, that on the western side of the temple area were four gates; one leading over the valley to the royal palace (on Zion)," &c. He suggests that this passage was by the bridge, the remains of which he fancied that he discovered: but the language of Josephus implies an embankment, such as

three north of this, two leading "to the *suburb*," and one "into the other city." The only notice which Dr Robinson takes of this remarkable passage, which is fatal to his theory, is in the words, "two conducting to the suburb (or new city), on the north, and the remaining one leading to the other city. By this 'other city' can be meant only the Lower City, or Acra⁵." Now, not to insist upon the facts that the historian places the two gates into the suburbs next in order to that by the causeway, and that he never in a single passage calls Bezetha the *suburb*, but always "the new city⁶," and that it had no existence when the temple was built; it is obvious to remark, that as Bezetha lay upon *the north* side of the temple, it could by no possibility be approached from its *western* gates, which are here in mention: and it was so far from being united to the temple, or having gates leading into it from the temple, that it was separated from it by the fortress of Antonia, and a deep trench⁷. Besides which, the tower of Antonia, which lay at

that of Solomon clearly was. See above, p. 274, and much more fully in the next chapter.

⁵ Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 412. With a want of consistency of which one is sorry to have so often to complain in this author, he afterwards makes these three gates lead *into the lower city*, and thus denies what he asserts in the text above. Bib. Res. II. p. 69: "*Three gates led from it (the lower city) to the temple.*" He is evidently sorely perplexed at this troublesome passage of Josephus, but will not acknowledge it. No doubt "the suburb" was part of the lower city; and this last passage is so far correct,—but he ought to be consistent.

⁶ "This new-built part of the city

was called Bezetha in our language, which if interpreted in the Grecian language may be called Cænopolis, (the new city)." J. W. Lib. v. 4. 2. It *was* properly a suburb before Agrippa enclosed it, although I am not aware that it is ever so called by the historian.

⁷ Dr Robinson himself tells us, p. 432, that the Antonia, which (following Josephus) he places "on the north side of the area of the temple;" i. e. *between* Bezetha and the temple, was "separated from the hill Bezetha on the north by a deep artificial trench, *lest it should be approachable from that hill.*" See again, 433, &c. Yet here he *makes it to be approachable* by two gates from the *western* side of the temple!

the north-west angle of the temple-court¹, and probably gave its name to Acra, was without doubt comprehended in the Lower City. Now if "by this other city," in this passage of Josephus, can be meant only the Lower City or Acra, as Dr Robinson himself grants, is it not plain that the northernmost of these western gates must have led into that city, as the order of the historian would lead us to conclude? We must then look for "the suburb" west of the temple, and for the two gates leading to the suburb, in the intermediate space between the fortress Antonia and the causeway.

And in this conclusion we are again confirmed by the language of Holy Scripture, with reference to the porters. The gate next Shallecheth is the *Parbar gate*, i. e. "the gate of an outer place," or "the gate of the suburb²;" and there is an incidental allusion to this same gate in the

¹ Dr Robinson would have me say *north*, which makes the case stronger. He says (i. p. 433) that "the rock on which the fortress stood could not have been further west than the western line of the temple-area; for here ran, and runs, the valley which separated Bezetha and Moriah from Acra." Here again he joins Bezetha to Moriah, and separates Acra from it, contrary to Josephus. It would appear from some passages that the whole of the north wall of the temple enclosure was not covered by Antonia. See below, next chapter.

² "The word *Parbar* admitteth of a double construction: for it either signifies כלפי בר, *an outward place*, as many of the Jews do construe it; or it concurs with the signification of the word '*parvar*,' (which differs but one

letter from it, and that very near and of an easy change) which betokeneth 'suburbs,' both in the Hebrew text, 2 Kings xxii. 11, and in the Chaldee tongue, as David Kimchi averreth there." Lightfoot, Vol. i. p. 1056, where he shews it to have been next to Shallecheth. This learned author places Zion north of Acra, which is a source of endless confusion with him. This is the more to be regretted, as with accurate data his learning and laborious research might have led to important results. He was misled, like the Rabbies, by a misunderstanding of Psalm xlviii. 2, which the Chronicles of the Crusades, Sandys, Quaresmius, &c. ought to have corrected: but he does not seem to have consulted modern books of travels, &c.

book of Kings, where the suburbs are again mentioned. It is said of Josiah that "he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, *at the entering in of the house of the Lord*, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, *which was in the suburbs*³." The other gate into the suburb, and that into the Lower City, would appear to have a common name in Scripture, derived from the "house of Asuppim," or treasure-houses of the temple, which extended between them, and united them; and therefore although that next to Parbar "did lead also into the suburbs as well as this, as is apparent from Josephus, yet is it not called by the same name Parbar: the reason of this may be given, because it bare a name peculiar and proper, suitable to that singular use to which it was designed, or to that place where it was set, rather than suitable to that place whither it gave passage⁴."

The observation, that the street which led to the "other city" descended by a flight of stairs from the gate of the temple, and then ascended to the city, may suggest the objection that the valley that separated Acra from the temple had been filled up⁵. I answer that it was the *hill* of Acra which had been united to the mount of the temple, and not that part of the Lower City, opposite to the northernmost gate on the western side of the area, which was bounded, as it still is, by a deep valley, except at the north-west angle, in which quarter I presume that the junction was effected. The filling up of the valley

³ 2 Kings xxiii. 11. See Lightfoot, Vol. i. p. 1056.

⁴ See Lightfoot, Vol. i. pp. 1056-7.

⁵ See above, p. 274, and notes. The words of Josephus are, βαθμῖσι πολλοῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διει-

λεμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν. Who can doubt that this is the same φάραγξ mentioned in the earlier part of the same passage, which see at p. 274, note 1; i. e. the Tyropæon?

would seem to have been part of the same work as the demolition of the fortress and the lowering of the height of Acra, and it was a work of immense labour, and occupied a long space of time¹: I think that the traces of it remain to this day plainly visible, in a ridge which slopes down from the traditionary site of the house of Herod to the outer inclosure of the mosk, and which is crossed by the "Via Dolorosa," as it approaches the se-raglio, or the house of Pilate. I presume then that the rock thrown down from Acra is the substratum of this sloping ridge, which is certainly a remarkable feature, and that it is here that "the broad valley which formerly separated between Acra and Moriah was filled up by the Asmoneans, with a view to join the temple to the city;" and this would be of itself a sufficient proof that the hill so connected with Moriah cannot be Bezetha, as Dr Robinson takes it to be; for it has been already remarked, that Bezetha was so far from being united to Moriah by an artificial mound, that it was separated from it by a deep-dug trench²!

It will have been seen already that Dr Robinson places Acra due west of Moriah: and in another passage he distinctly says, "Moriah was apparently at first an elevated mound of rock, rising by itself upon this ridge, over against the eastern point of Acra³." I trust that sufficient proof has now been given that this position is untenable, not only from the fact that his Acra will not answer to the conditions required of that described in Josephus, but by the fact, that west of Moriah lay "the suburbs," sometimes

¹ Vid. Josephus, Ant. Lib. XIII. cap. vi. sect. 7.

² See above, p. 278, and more fully in the next chapter.

³ Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 393.

indeed comprehended with Acra under one common appellation, but sometimes also distinguished from it by a peculiar name.

This must be remembered, or otherwise it will be impossible to reconcile those passages which speak of parts of "the Lower City," or "Acra," (for the names are often used interchangeably) *west* of the temple, with those which have been now considered⁴. The real question is, whether *the hill* were to the west or to the north-west of Moriah.

If the argument from the gates and the mound be not sufficient to prove the latter, it may perhaps be that the following additional considerations will determine the point.

The second wall which "encircled the northern part of the city reached as far as Antonia." But Antonia was at the north of Moriah, and it was not until he had taken the second wall that Titus could bring his engines against the tower itself. And in his account of Bezetha, or the new city, Josephus expressly speaks of the high part of the old city lying north of the temple; the overflowing of which occasioned the new city to be formed⁵; and it is remarkable that Dr Robinson himself is obliged to bring great part of this hill into the old city, that the wall encompassing it may reach Antonia⁶. So that in fact the ancient city, according

⁴ Passages might be adduced to prove that Acra lay south of the temple, for sometimes the Tyropæon down to Siloam is comprehended under this name.

⁵ Bell Jud. v. iv. 2. Τοῦτο [τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος] τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή· πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκ

ὀλίγον προῆλθον καὶ τέταρτον περι-οικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ.

⁶ p. 462. "The second wall," he says, "sweeping round to the valley between Acra and Bezetha, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Damascus gate, either followed that valley down to the corner of Antonia, or else perhaps took the same direction *across the high ground of Bezetha*; although the

to this writer, instead of consisting of two hills separated by an intermediate valley, would comprehend only one entire hill, (Mount Zion) divided from Acra (not a hill, but "the continuation or rather termination of a broad ridge or swell of land") by a Tyropæon which does not exist; and then another broad valley, and great part of the hill Bezetha, which Josephus tells us was not enclosed until the time of Agrippa! Where then, it will be asked, is Bezetha, or rather *the hill* included in Bezetha? for the *new city* was very extensive, and encompassed Acra on three sides. I answer, exactly where Josephus places it—north of the temple, and answering to his description in every respect. There is a hill distinct from Acra, not mentioned by Dr Robinson, lying between it and the valley of the Kedron, covered to this day with ruins and cisterns, and bearing evident traces of having been thickly inhabited. The highest point of this hill is nearly north-east of the summit of Acra, now without the city walls, and planted with olives; while the south, or lower part, is within the walls, and reaches down to the trench now known as the "Pool of Bethesda," of which much more will be said below. The hill of Acra does not slope down to the valley of the Kedron, the skirt of Bezetha, on which stands the church of St Ann, being interposed.

In approaching the city from the north by the Damascus road the two hills are so distinctly marked, that it is impossible to mistake them, and the correctness of the Jewish historian's language is most clearly proved; for the hill Bezetha does most completely "overshadow" Moriah from this

whole of this latter hill certainly was not included by it." The first hypothesis cannot be admitted, because the

fortress was not in a valley, but on a hill.

quarter¹. Pursuing this road, and drawing near the walls, you enter the valley of the Tyropæon, having Acra on your left. "Its western side, near the gate of Damascus, is very steep, as are also the northern and southern sides in this quarter. Indeed, the northern wall of the city runs along its northern brow; and the rock on the outside is there precipitous, with a wide and deep trench at its base, cut through the solid rock²." This hill is continued down to the present seraglio, the site of the old Antonia, and there is joined to Moriah; a street runs at its base along the valley, and meets the Via Dolorosa at a large ruined bath, from whence it is continued, still along the bed of the valley, to the causeway so often mentioned.

There is however one objection to this hypothesis, the only one that I am aware of, and it shall be honestly stated; viz. that this hill is higher than Mount Moriah, whereas Josephus says that the height of Acra was reduced by

¹ Bell. Jud. Lib. iv. cap. v. sect. 8.

"But the hill Bezetha was separated, as I said, from Antonia; and being higher than all, it was joined to part of the new city, and alone overshadowed the temple towards the north." How much more would this be the case when it was covered with buildings than it is now!

The very faithful sketch of my friend, who has been so good as to illustrate this volume, was made before he had studied the topography of Jerusalem, and will, I hope, render this somewhat dry and obscure discussion more intelligible and more interesting.

² Bib. Res. p. 392. This is of course the description of *his* Bezetha. The east side is no less steep, but

rather more so than the other three: so that it entirely answers the description of Josephus. See above, p. 11. I have little doubt that Dr Robinson is right in the conjecture that this hill and that which covers the cave of Jeremiah once formed one ridge, of which the intervening portion has been cut away by art. Viewed from the north-west angle of the present city-walls, it still appears one hill; and I think that it was probably excavated as a quarry for some of the later city-walls; as I am not aware that the grotto is mentioned earlier than the 16th century, and the stone exactly resembles that of which the present walls are constructed: the second wall probably encompassed it, and so I have represented it in my plan.

the Asmoneans so as to become lower than Moriah¹. But first, in addition to all other difficulties, this same objection applies to Dr Robinson's Acra in a much greater degree; for it is not true that this his Bezetha "is nearly or quite as high² as his Acra," although his hypothesis obliged him to affirm it, having first, of course, induced him to suppose it, that he might at least appear consistent with Josephus; and next, I am not at all sure that the language of Josephus requires this construction. The object of the Asmoneans was to remove the annoyance of the fortress, the original *Acra*, which stood in a commanding position at the north-west of the temple; and the result of their labours was, that the temple out-topped all the buildings in its neighbourhood, but not necessarily the whole hill and all the buildings upon it³. The fact is, that unless Josephus is allowed some latitude, and we are permitted to resolve this difficulty in some such manner as this, we are reduced to the alternative of supposing that Moriah is not correctly placed; for there is not a hill in the neighbourhood which is not higher than that now occupied by the mosk of Omar: and then we have to seek new postulates before we can advance a single step in the topography of Jerusalem; for this point is commonly assumed, and allowed by general consent, as one of the very few data on which we may build.

We may now return to the point from which we set out, and endeavour to trace the course of the second wall. Let

¹ J. W. v. iv. 1.

² Bib. Res. note 1, p. 345.

³ Rubbish does wonders in Jerusalem, and it will do something, but I fear not enough, here. The ruined church, said to occupy the site of the house of Simon the Pharisee, stands

near the top of this hill, and is now below ground, and surrounded on all sides with heaps. Heads of gateways are level with the present street, &c. More will be said of this levelling of the hill when I come to speak of Antonia, in the next chapter.

us then suppose the gate Gennath in the northern wall of Zion somewhere near the entrance to the bazaars from the west, and the second wall commencing here to run in a northerly direction parallel to the westernmost of the three arcades which compose the bazaar, and to the street which is continued down to the Damascus gate, and a little to the left of this line. It will be carried along a sloping ground, which is a disadvantage; but the Tyropæon must be crossed; and since Acra is north of Zion, the wall must run in that direction along the declivity to the upper and more shallow part of the valley, near the Damascus gate. The disadvantage would be obviated in some measure by artificial contrivance, and "the broad wall"⁴ and the "gate of Ephraim," or "the valley-gate,"⁵ are probably to be looked for in this part: while it is not unlikely that those two chambers constructed of large stones, still to be seen near the Damascus gate, aided to strengthen the wall in this its weakest and most assailable part; it here reached *the hill* of Acra round which it was carried until it met the wall of the fortress of Antonia.

It is singular that the language of Josephus alone, apart from all other considerations, induced a friend, who has been before mentioned, to draw the wall within a few feet of this line, which we afterwards found evidence to believe it had taken.

In that part of Mount Zion where I have placed the gate Gennath, there is a dip in the hill, so marked that in passing, from south to north, by the street which runs through the centre of the Jews' quarter, from near the Zion gate, you have little or no descent at all to the

⁴ Nehem. iii. 8; xii. 38.

⁵ Id. ii. 13; iii. 13; xii. 39. I think they are the same.

bazaars: from any other point west of this there is a steep declivity. Near this there is a favourable position for the gate Gennath, and for the commencement of the second wall; and near this there is a tradition of a gate leading into Zion, marked still by two columns, revered by pilgrims as that through which St Peter passed to the house of St Mark. I would not attach much importance to this fact taken alone; but as a link in a chain of evidence it is worth something. Again, immediately without the bazaar, on the west, is a sudden rise to Zion, near the top of which is to be seen the head of an old gateway, so much choked up with rubbish that the key-stone is nearly on a level with the street; it bears marks of antiquity in its structure, and in the size of the stones, which are much worn by exposure. It appears to have formed a round arch, and probably might be excavated with success, if permission could be obtained: I attempted to get behind it in a dyer's shop, but it is all blocked up. If this were a city-gate at all, it belonged to the second wall, not to the first, and must have been very near the angle. Let us proceed further towards the north.

On the 18th of December, 1842, I was walking over the ruins of the hospital of the knights of St John, when on looking down from the top of one of the chambers, among some prickly pears on the south side of this building, I discovered a solid and compact mass of masonry of a totally different character from any I had before seen in Jerusalem. The workmanship was much better, and the stones much whiter and harder than those used in the hospital or in any modern building. On a closer examination I found it to be the pier of a gateway, with the spring-course of the arch still entire. The mass had never been disturbed on the inside, *i. e.* on the north; whereas on the south side

there was every appearance of a wall having been removed—the mass being now supported by stones of another character, very clumsily inserted. The pier may be eight or nine feet deep, and fourteen or sixteen high from its present base: but its present base is level with the *roof of the bazaar*, which is about the same height from the ground. Corresponding with this pier, about ten feet to the north, is a wall of much later date, and a spring-course of an arch answering to the other, but constructed of much smaller stones, of an entirely different character. I should judge from this that the ancient mass had been turned to account in a later building, now ruined, and had formed one side of a vaulted room. The stones are not large, varying from two to three feet long, but the construction very solid. An attempt was afterwards made to effect an entrance from the bazaar to examine the lower part, but as usual, without success. A frequent inspection of this singular and venerable pier left little doubt on my mind that it belonged to a gateway of the second wall, although I can scarcely hope that this meagre account will be sufficient to bring the reader to the same conclusion. Following the wall still towards the north, at the *Via Dolorosa* we come to another traditionary gateway, marked in the plans as the “*Porta Judici*,” and then at the *Damascus gate*, where the wall would bend to cross the *Tyropæon*, we have the two chambers of Cyclopean architecture noticed by Dr Robinson.

Now without venturing to hope that this cumulative evidence will work the same conviction in the minds of others that it has in my own, I think I may safely affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no other course for the second wall can be shewn, which has so much to be said in its favour, and so little against it; and it has above all

this advantage, that it satisfies every demand of the wall of Josephus. It has a northern and a southern part¹, it has for some distance a circular course², and it starts from a point in the ancient wall of Zion some distance from the Hippic tower.

And now where does it leave the church of the Holy Sepulchre? In the angle formed by the first and second wall "nigh unto the city," and "without the gate," probably in a "place where there were gardens³," for the gate of Gennath (i. e. "*the gate of the gardens*⁴") led into this quarter; and where *we know* there were tombs; for the monument of John the high priest was in the angle which was described by that fact⁵: and it is surely a wonderful confirmation of the Christian tradition, that these circumstances, incidentally recorded by a Jewish writer with a totally different view, should all concur in shewing, not merely the possibility, but even a probability, of its truth. If "undesigned coincidences" are worth anything in such arguments, the Holy Sepulchre is justly entitled to the full benefit of these, which it is impossible for scepticism itself to suspect.

¹ J. W. v. viii. 2.

² Ibid. v. iv. 2: κυκλοῦμενον τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα.

³ John xix. 20, 41; Heb. xiii. 2.

⁴ So Milman takes it to mean: I think with great probability. Hist. of the Jews, III. 16. See Buxtorf's Rabbin. Lex. voce גַּת.

⁵ This most important fact is proved by the following passages in the fifth book of the Jewish War, vi. 2; vii. 3; ix. 2; xi. 4. "The monument mentioned was no doubt a tomb, (as Herod's monument, Helena's monument, the Fuller's monument, were all tombs). This shews that there were tombs in

this part—that they were the tombs of some distinguished persons, such as that of the high priest, and of Joseph of Arimathea, which were handsome monuments, and probably enclosed in gardens. The few houses that stood in this part were probably private villas of such great individuals, with which their gardens were connected, and in which they had their private monuments." J. R. It is perhaps worth remarking, that there were many such gardens on the corresponding part outside the new wall, when Titus commenced his attack. J. W. v. iii. 2.



Devellé the High

The Alhambra, Granada, Spain, 1845.

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA, SPAIN.

If the attempt which has now been made to determine the position of Acra and the course of the second wall has been successful, we are justified in the conclusion, that the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre is not only not invalidated by the consideration of its locality, but much confirmed; since the probability is great, that a fictitious site would have been fixed far enough away from the ruins of the ancient city, to obviate those apparently strong objections which only a diligent examination of the Jewish historian proves to be insufficient: for the ruins in the time of Constantine⁶ would plainly mark the extent of the old city, and prevent any such mistake as Dr Robinson's theory supposes. Imposture would most likely have found the site without the range of the third wall also, in order to be as safe as possible, while, on the other hand, the intelligence which determined that its situation within the third wall was no objection to its identity, would conclude that its location within the second wall was so; and the historical knowledge implied in the former conclusion, would form a strong presumption in favour of accurate information with reference to Calvary. Besides which, it deserves to be considered, that the very name assigned to the place where our Lord suffered would tend to preserve the memorial of the site among the natives; and to suppose that the site was lost, is to suppose nothing less than that the very name of a peculiar feature in the topogra-

⁶ Eusebius, writing about A.D. 320, says: "To this very time indeed the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city are obvious to their sight who travel thither." Theophania, p. 242.

phy of Jerusalem had irrecoverably perished; which does not appear to have been the case with any other hill, or with any valley in the neighbourhood. It is inconceivable that, while Mount Zion and the Mount of Olives, and the Valley of the Kedron, retained their distinctive appellations, *that hill* which the Christian population would not fail to regard with the deepest interest at least—if we may not say reverence, should have lost its name—a name, be it remembered, universally received in our Saviour's time, and the memorial of which was preserved in the writings of the Evangelists¹. The Christian Church, as we have seen, had never been absent from Jerusalem for more than a few years at the utmost, probably not more than two²; and would *any Christian* who had once known the hill of Calvary fail to identify it after ever so long a period, however accident or design might have altered its character? It must be remembered, too, that the fact of this part of the new city being thinly inhabited³ would cause that its features would undergo little or no alteration by the overthrow of Jerusalem⁴;

¹ Dr Robinson dwells on this as the most satisfactory kind of tradition, but does not apply it here. Having slurred over the "fathers of the Church and the hosts of monks," he proceeds: "But there is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries had nothing to do, and of which they have apparently in every age known little or nothing. I mean the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people. This is a truly national and native tradition, not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters, but drawn in by the peasant with his mother's milk, and deeply

seated on the genius of the Semitic languages. *The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramean form* long after the times of the New Testament, and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people," &c. &c. Vol. I. pp. 375, 6. How strange if the most interesting and important place in all Jerusalem should form an exception to this rule! That Golgotha and Calvary should be no more known in the beginning of the fourth century!

² See above, pp. 128—9.

³ See above, p. 263. note 7.

⁴ St Cyril of Jerusalem says of the place, "Though it now be adorned, and

and the very attempt to obliterate the memorial of our Lord's resurrection, would be to perpetuate the tradition of the site. And it matters little whether the temple of Venus, which was erected over the spot with this design, was the work of Adrian or no, if the tradition of the design was authentic. It avails nothing to urge that Eusebius merely ascribes it to impious men, while later writers specify the founder of *Ælia*⁵; because even if it were demonstrable that Adrian had no hand in it, the fact itself would not be affected, that the idol was set up to desecrate and to obliterate the site.

Yet it is very far from improbable that this was done by the direction, or at least with the sanction of Adrian, especially if the renegade Aquila retained any influence in his councils after his apostacy from the Christian faith⁶; and we have the testimony of a writer contemporary with Eusebius to a similar pollution of the mount of the Lord's house under the same emperor⁷.

And should any be disposed to question the probability of the Holy Sepulchre being regarded with reverence before the time of Adrian, considering such veneration as a symptom of later superstition and corruption, it must be remembered that, right or wrong, the Christians of the apostolic times were certainly in the habit of treasuring up the relics of the saints and martyrs⁸; and the same

that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, *and the tokens and traces thereof remain.*" Cat. XIV. 5.

⁵ Yet Dr Robinson insists on this as if it were a matter of the last consequence. See Vol. II. pp. 73, 74.

⁶ See above, p. 132.

⁷ The writer is the author of the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, A.D. 333. Speaking of the temple-area he says, "*Sunt ibi et statuæ Hadriani. Est et non longe de statuis,*" &c.

⁸ See *e.g.* the account of the martyrdom of St Polycarp, in the letter of the church of Smyrna.

fond feeling would lead them much more to preserve the mémorials of their Saviour's Passion and Resurrection, as they did we know of his miraculous Nativity¹. So that if the erection of the idol shrine was later than Adrian², the greater chance would there be of a correct tradition of these sites, as mere tradition would have less to do with the preservation of them—religious veneration more.

With this strong presumption in favour of a right conclusion, we find the Holy Sepulchre placed exactly where the impugnors of the tradition, in accordance with the sacred writers, fix its situation, with reference to the ancient city-walls, as far as their course can now be ascertained³. Under these circumstances the tradition would require the very strongest arguments to disprove its veracity, such arguments as certainly never have been, and I am persuaded never will be produced; unless indeed, as has been anticipated⁴, the demolition of the Holy Sepulchre itself should prove that the supposed cave is nothing more than a mass of

¹ Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, Dial. sect. 78, speaks of the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, in a manner which implies that it was well known; and Origen, A.D. 230, cont. Celsum, I. 51, states that pilgrimages were then made to it.

² As Dr Robinson wishes to make it. II. 9.

³ So Clarke writes,—that Golgotha was without the city, and very near to one of its gates, (Vol. II. p. 552), and the tomb of Joseph “in a garden” in the place where our Saviour was crucified; and then, with strange inconsistency, he removes them far apart, marking the place of Crucifixion on Mount Sion, without the gate of David, and the place of burial in the deep

Valley of Hinnom, and on the opposite side! Dr Robinson writes: “If it be asked, Where then are the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre to be sought? I must reply, that all search will probably be in vain. We know nothing more from the Scriptures than that they were *near each other, without the gate, and nigh to the city, in a frequented spot.*” Vol. II. p. 80.

⁴ Dr Clarke, some years after his visit, learnt with peculiar satisfaction of the total destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by fire; expecting that thus the imposture would be unmasked. He was however disappointed, as the Holy Sepulchre alone escaped unharmed in the midst of the conflagration. See above, p. 241.

masonry. At present the native rock is so entirely incrustcd within and without with marble as to be wholly invisible; and thus the appearance of the Sepulchre itself furnishes another objection to its identity with the place of our Lord's sepulture: and I shall not be ashamed to avow my sympathy with those who have felt regret at the transformation⁵; a feeling which I hope is not inconsistent with admiration for those who "did what they could" to honour the spot so consecrated; and refused "to offer to God of that which cost them nothing."

But granting that the adornment was in bad taste, and that the marble case of the cave would be better away, it were rash to deny the existence of the rock within the case, because we cannot see it⁶. The great thickness of

⁵ Sandys applies the lines of Juvenal with reference to the fountain of *Egeria*:

Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, &c.

And there is much justice in Dr Clarke's remark, see note 6, though his usual flippant tone is distressing. I would rather express my feelings in the elegant and touching language of Lord F. Egerton:—

Oh! for that garden in its simpler guise, &c.
Pilgrimage. Stanza 21.

A beautiful little poem, which only wants *less reason and more faith* to make it perfect.

⁶ Yet this is the sum of Dr Clarke's argument. Vol. II. p. 544. "There are no remains whatever of any ancient known sepulchre that, with the most attentive and scrupulous examination, *we could possibly discover*. The sides consists of thick slabs of that beautiful breccia vulgarly called *verd-antique*

marble.....All that can therefore now be affirmed with any shadow of reason, is this, that if Helena had reason to believe she could identify the spot where the Sepulchre was, she took especial care to remove every existing trace of it....The place may be the same pointed out to her; but not a remnant of the original Sepulchre *can now be ascertained*." Dr Robinson is so satisfied with the conclusiveness of his arguments against the site, that he thinks it superfluous to examine the Sepulchre. See Vol. II. p. 80, n. 1. He only "*looked in for a few moments*" upon the church, *once* on Easter-day, *when he* "*could not enter the Sepulchre:*" and what he then saw "*excited in his mind a feeling too painful to be borne, and he never visited the place again.*" What authority he has for the assertion, that "*even the monks themselves do not pretend that the present Sepulchre is anything more*

the walls, and the form of the interior, which does not at all correspond with the ground-plan of the exterior building, would form a presumption in favour of an irregular cave within, while nothing short of infatuation could have led an impostor, contrary to the plain letter of Scripture, to assign the Sepulchre to a building of his own erection, while so many caves in the neighbourhood of the city offered themselves to his choice. It has been urged as a general objection to the sacred localities in Palestine, that "nothing is done without grottoes¹;" so that fictitious sites were always fixed to caves: it would be strange indeed if the Holy Sepulchre, which is so plainly declared to be a cave, should prove an exception to this rule!

But the testimony of Eusebius is conclusive as to the existence of a cave, and such a cave as that which is now shewn; for it can hardly be supposed that a writer of that date would speak so confidently as he does in the following passage, unless the fact on which he was insisting had been generally known and universally received. His description is as follows: "The grave itself *was a cave* which had *evidently been hewn out*; a cave that had now been cut out in the rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even *this rock, standing out erect and alone on a level land*, and having only *one cavern within it*; lest had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death should have been ob-

than an imitation of the original," I should be curious to learn. Vol. I. pp. 30, 1.

¹ See Maundrell, under April 19, and Robinson's Bib. Res. II. p. 79,

who quotes Maundrell in note 1. "As if," observes Mr Newman, "some might not be true, and some false; the latter imitations of the former." Pref. to Fleury, p. clxii. note k (end).

scured²." Such is the testimony of a bishop of Palestine who lived at the time when the Sepulchre was recovered, and who is regarded as a credible witness of facts, and not over credulous; it is moreover an incidental reference of the most unsuspicious character, and such as would generally be considered most satisfactory, for he is speaking on another subject, and introduces mention of this quite incidentally, not at all with a view to establish the identity of the spot, but as an argument for the truth of the Resurrection.

The Sepulchre itself may be described as a "grotto above ground," consisting of two chambers, whereof the outer one is said to have been built by Helena, while the inner one is the very cave hewn out of the rock, where was the tomb of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ³. The very spot where the Holy Body lay is now covered with marble to protect it from injury; the removal of which would probably show a sarcophagus such as are seen in other ancient tombs, excavated in the native rock, and only large enough to admit the body. The tomb was designed by Joseph for his own burial, so that it had but one receptacle⁴; and as it had known no occupant before, so we may

² Theophania, p. 199. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Tattam for this and other important and interesting passages from this long lost work of Eusebius, which was recovered by him. The quotations are from Professor Lee's translation.

³ St Cyril, in commenting on Cant. ii. 14, says, "'The cleft of the rock' he calls the cleft which was then at the door of the salutary Sepulchre, and was hewn out of the rock itself, as it is customary here, in the front of sepul-

chres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for before the Sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in the face of the rock." Cat. xiv. 9.

⁴ St Matthew calls it "his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock," xxvii. 60. Dr Clarke might be describing the Holy Sepulchre itself where he writes of that which he would substitute for it, as "the identical tomb of Jesus Christ." Vol. II. p. 554:

be well assured that it would know none after it had been so honoured, but would be preserved inviolate by its believing owner, who would provide himself another resting-place, probably in the same sacred garden; indeed, there are still shown at a small distance from the Holy Sepulchre two tombs in the rock¹, called the tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus; which certainly bear marks of antiquity, and serve further to prove the existence of sepulchral excavations in this part in ancient times.

On the whole, then, it would appear that no objections have yet been stated of sufficient cogency to overthrow a tradition so ancient and well authenticated as that under consideration; and that there are in fact much greater difficulties in the way of its rejection than of its reception. Apart from the antecedent probability² of a right conclusion in the case of those who in the reign of Constantine were employed to recover the site of the Holy Sepulchre, it has now been seen that, whether we examine the arguments which tend to shew that the received site was within the ancient city, they appear wholly inconclusive and insufficient for the purpose; or whether those relating to the

“The large stone which once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. *Stooping down to look into it, we observed within a fair sepulchre, containing a repository upon one side only, for a single body: whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two.*” He could not have described more clearly the received Sepulchre to which he objects! So before, he describes the subterranean chambers in the same neighbourhood, as “hewn with marvellous art, each containing

one, or many repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. The doors were so low, that to look into any one of them it was necessary to stoop, and in some instances to creep upon hands and knees,” pp. 549, 50. Nothing can be more exact, only that now the Holy Sepulchre is not subterranean.

¹ The reader is referred to the Plan for this and other traditionary sites.

² So strongly stated by Mr Newman. Preface to Fleury, clv—vii.

character of the tomb itself, all the phenomena are most satisfactorily accounted for by the statements of Eusebius and other early writers. And as it has never been denied³ that the present site is the same as that of which they write, it will be unnecessary to adduce later testimonies. "The main *authority* for the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is Eusebius, and the *warrant* for its preservation or recovery is the pagan temple raised over it by Hadrian, which became a lasting record of the spot⁴." And since in the time of this emperor "the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour was almost in the memory of man," we may conclude, with the sceptical Dr Clarke, that "this powerful record of the means used by the pagans to obliterate the rites of Christianity, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the tomb, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt⁵."

And it is worthy of remark, that neither Eusebius, nor any of the writers of that century, imply any difficulty in ascertaining the locality. They all speak as if it had been a well-known fact that the fane of Venus covered the Holy Sepulchre. The only difficulty was to clear it from the heaps which had been raised over it⁶; and the expressions

³ Yet there is a passage of Dr Robinson (Bib. Res. II. 65) which, if it means any thing, implies a doubt even of this!

⁴ Mr Newman, Preface to Fleury, p. clvi. note f.

⁵ Clarke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 540.

⁶ So far is it from being true that "the balance of evidence would seem to be decidedly against the probable existence of any previous tradition," that I am persuaded an impartial reader would find it impossible to avoid

the conclusion, from the language of Eusebius and others, that such a tradition did exist. It is taken for granted throughout. And this explains why St Helena is nowhere *said* to have acted in consequence of any known tradition. "Divine suggestion" is never said by the earlier writers to have *guided her to the spot*, as is implied, but simply to have disposed her or her son to recover it, while the diligent enquiry among the ancient inhabitants, is only mentioned by later writers.

of astonishment which the success of the undertaking called forth would be amply justified by the state of complete preservation in which it was found after so long an interval, especially as they might not unreasonably have feared, that the concealment of the spot had been preceded or attended by an attempt at the destruction or defacement of the holy cave. Whether it be a reasonable argument against the existence of such a tradition that "no pilgrimages were made to it" before, *covered as it was by an idol temple*, is for the consideration of those who urge it¹; but can any devout believer bring himself to suppose that the "many Christians who came up to Jerusalem from all parts of the earth before the age of Constantine, to behold the accomplishment of prophecy in the desolations of the city, and to pay their adorations on the summit of the Mount of Olives²," would be indifferent to the scene of the Crucifixion and Resurrection? They would without doubt enquire for this sacred spot, and be pointed to the idol-temple which had been erected to pollute it; while the continued opposition of the civil magistrate, breaking out in frequent persecutions, would make them despair of all attempts to recover it, until the conversion of Constantine and the pious zeal of his venerable mother brought about this happy consummation. The Holy Sepulchre was recovered as soon as circumstances allowed of it.

I proceed now to notice other sacred localities about the Holy Sepulchre, which stands in the centre of a circular building covered with a handsome dome, left open at the top, in order that the tomb may stand under the open heaven.

Neither Eusebius, nor St Cyril, nor St Jerome, who would be best informed, say a word about it. B. R. Vol. 11.

pp. 76, and 14, 15.

¹ Bib. Res. 11. 78.

² Ibid. p. 77, from Eusebius.

Immediately opposite to the entrance of the cave, which is on its eastern side, is the door of the Greek church, which probably occupies the site of the basilica erected by the Emperor Constantine³. It is the finest church in Jerusalem, excepting only the magnificent church of St James, attached to the Armenian convent on Mount Zion. It was erected in the year 1809, after the fire which completely destroyed all the buildings connected with the Sepulchre, while that alone remained uninjured amid the general conflagration⁴. The church is of large dimensions, surmounted by a cupola of considerable altitude, and is adorned, as the oriental churches mostly are, with handsome chandeliers and strings of lamps alternated with ostrich-eggs, hanging in festoons from the ceiling; the screen which separates the place of the holy Table from the church is handsomely carved, as are the pulpits and the patriarch's thrones, which are immediately without the screen on either side. The screen is adorned with paintings of the saints, and surmounted by a cross. There is a cloister running completely round the church without, forming the means of communication between the various chapels and the sacred localities, common to all the Christians.

The church of the Franciscans is a comparatively mean building, to the north of the Holy Sepulchre, called the Church of the Apparition; the Armenians worship in one of the galleries of the rotunda; the Syrians have a small chapel in the thickness of the wall to the west of the Sepulchre; while the Copts have their altar in a small erection scarcely large enough to admit the officiating priest, at the west of

³ Euseb. Vit. Const. III. xxxvi.

⁴ See the account of this fire above, page 241. The escape of the Holy Sepulchre on this occasion, is a strong argument for a cave. How otherwise

can we account for the fact, that it sustained not the slightest injury? even the silk hangings and the paintings were unscathed by the flame.

the cave itself. There are also apartments in the neighbourhood of the respective chapels, assigned to the monks of these several churches, who wait continually on their ministry at the sacred places, and live immured as it were within the walls; while other chapels, commemorative of events connected with our Saviour's Passion, in various parts of the building, occupy the remainder of the sacred enclosure, which is of considerable extent.

The entrance is from a paved court on the south side, through the westernmost of two handsome door-ways, with an architrave in bas-relief representing our Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The first object that attracts attention within the building is the stone of unction, in the vestibule. Here the pilgrim may turn to the left into the round church which encircles the Holy Sepulchre, or to the right into the south cloister without the Greek church, which has been lately noticed. Proceeding a few paces down this cloister, he finds on the right a flight of eighteen steps leading up to the chapel of the Holy Golgotha, and if he be an Oriental he will put off his shoes from his feet, and approach with reverential awe the scene of his Lord's last Passion, and draw near on bended knees to the very spot of the crucifixion. If he be an Englishman or American, the attendant priest will not look for such a deportment; he will expect nothing more than a look of indifference, or at most of idle curiosity; and will be prepared for sceptical objections: he will even look for an expression of incredulity, and an apparent predetermination to disbelieve. It is sad to think that a person in Frank habit kneeling at Calvary and the Sepulchre of Christ, and offering up his devotions at these sacred spots, venerated by Christians of all nations for fifteen hundred years, should be as it were a monster to those who witness it:

but such is the fact. And what then will the curious traveller see? He would observe that the stairs by which he ascended to this platform are cut for the most part in the solid rock, and that the floor of the chapel is formed by levelling the same. At the east end of the north side of the double chapel he will see a platform raised about a foot and a half from the floor¹, covered with white marble, and under the altar of the orthodox he will observe a hole in the marble communicating with a deep bore in the solid rock, in which he will be told that our Saviour's cross was erected. Near this on his right he will see another incision in the marble, showing a fissure in the rock, said to have been occasioned by the earthquake which occurred at the time of the crucifixion². If he examine it minutely, he will perceive that "the insides do testify that art had no hand therein, each side to other being answerably rugged, and there where inaccessible to the workmen³." The continuation of this cleft may be seen in the chapel of the Fore-runner, below Golgotha, where were shown formerly the tombs of the first two Frank kings of Jerusalem—Godfrey

¹ Sandys says this platform is "ten feet long and six broad." Dr Clarke must either have observed very superficially, or have been greatly mistaken in the facts, when, in speaking of "the modern altar," he said, "This they venerate as Mount Calvary, the place of crucifixion; exhibiting upon this contracted piece of masonry the marks or holes of the three crosses, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection." Vol. II. p. 546. This is untrue. They shew only *one* bore in the rock under the altar. The Greek pilgrim's "Guide to the Holy Places," which omits nothing,

makes no mention of any other, nor did I ever see or hear of more than one. The tradition is, that the penitent thief was on the right, the impenitent on the left, and that the rock rent between him and our Saviour—"a figure of his spiritual separation," writes Sandys). This cleft is at the extreme right of the platform, and no room for the cross beyond it. But this is not pretended by the monks.

² It is said to have been rent at the feet of the centurion, and to have produced the exclamation, Matt. xxvii. 54.

³ Sandys' Travels, p. 127.

and his brother Baldwin. They were destroyed by the fire in 1808.

The tradition relating to the place of Crucifixion would appear to be as old as that relating to the Holy Sepulchre; for although there is perhaps room to doubt whether we have distinct notice of it in Eusebius, yet St Cyril, only a few years later, makes mention of it in many passages, and delivered the greater part of his Catechetical Lectures in the church erected over the spot¹, which was not at first comprehended under the same roof with the Martyrium of the Resurrection². He speaks too of the rent in the rock as ascertained in his day, at that particular spot³; not as if that were the only rent, but that its proximity to the Place of Crucifixion invested it with peculiar interest.

It has been objected, very unreasonably, that the Place of Crucifixion is too close to the Sepulchre to allow of its being the true site. Had it been further distant a stronger argument would have been advanced: for we are expressly told that “*in the place* where he was crucified there was

¹ “He was crucified for our sins truly: shouldest thou be disposed to deny it, the very place which all can see refutes thee, even this blessed Golgotha, in which, on account of him who was crucified on it, we are now assembled” (Cat. iv. 10); “one never can weary of hearing concerning our crowned Lord, and least of all in this most Holy Golgotha. For while others only hear, we have sight and touch too:” and presently, “Thou seest this spot of Golgotha!” &c. Cat. XIII. 22, 23. The latter lectures were delivered in the Church of the Resurrec-

tion. See Cat. XVIII. 33, (14); xx. 4.

² William of Tyre (Lib. VIII. cap. iii.) says, that before the entrance of the crusaders it was a small oratory without the range of the Church of the Resurrection, but that when they had obtained the city with a strong hand, it was much enlarged and strengthened, and comprehended under the same roof. Gest. Dei per Francos. p. 748.

³ “This Holy Golgotha, rising on high, and showing itself to this day, and displaying even yet how because of Christ the rocks were then riven.” Cat. XIII. 39, (19).

a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, &c.⁴” Nor is it necessary to suppose that the Crucifixion was in the garden—it was probably a public place without the city-wall; and the traveller in Syria and Palestine will see nothing forced in the conception that the garden-fence might have passed between the two sites⁵.

Descending from Golgotha, and passing down the cloister towards the east, we come to a wide staircase leading down by twenty-nine steps to a chapel of the Armenians, where they show the throne of St Helena; and then by thirteen more into the cave where the Cross of our Lord is said to have been discovered. Here the rock overhangs the chapel, which is formed in its cavity.

The Invention of the Holy Cross, which is commemorated in the English calendar on May 3rd, would seem to be historically connected with St Helena’s visit and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and a writer who is least disposed to admit the reality of the discovery, is forced to acknowledge, that “notwithstanding the silence of Eusebius, there would seem to be hardly any part of history better accredited than the alleged discovery of the true Cross⁶.”

Something has been already said concerning the silence of Eusebius, which seems to be taken for granted without sufficient reason; but even granting this, the terms em-

⁴ John xix. 41.

⁵ I would mention Jaffa especially as a case in point. Here the gardens come up very near the walls, having wide public thoroughfares passing through them. Damascus, Tripoli, and Beirout, will furnish other examples. Dr Robinson says that the place of crucifixion “was probably

upon a great road leading from one of the gates. And such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Jaffa or Damascus.” (Vol. II. p. 80). And exactly in such a spot is the place now shown.

⁶ Robinson’s Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 15, 16, and again p. 76.

ployed in Constantine's letter to Macarius¹, which he has preserved, "are more suitable to denote the Cross than the Sepulchre; and the strong expressions of his amazement and awe are more suitable to the discovery of the former than the latter; a discovery which was certainly reported and generally believed a few years later²." The first distinct mention which we find of the Holy Cross is by St Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures, (A. D. 347), where he refers to it as one of many witnesses to our Lord's Crucifixion. But he testifies not to its discovery³, but to its existence; and in language which would imply that it had been known for many years, for it had been in his days "distributed piece-meal to all the world⁴."

The circumstances connected with the discovery are to be gathered from the writings of the fathers who flourished at the close of the fourth, and the opening of the fifth century, who write of it as of a well-known and generally received story, with such variations as are to be expected, when an event of a marvellous character is reported by various authors in various countries far removed from the scene of its occurrence⁵.

St Ambrose is the first extant writer who gives a detailed account of the undertaking, and ascribes it to St

¹ See this subject discussed above, Part I. chap. ii. Constantine speaks of the recovery of "the token of the Saviour's most holy *Passion*" "buried under the earth many years" "surpassing all human calculation and all amazement." Phrases of which Mr Isaac Taylor says that they "clearly imply the Invention of the Cross." *Anc. Christ.* Part VII. p. 296; New-

man's Pref. to Fleury, p. cxlvi. and note c.

² *Ibid.* cxlvii.

³ Except perhaps in his letter to Constantius, 351; the genuineness of which is disputed by some learned writers.

⁴ *Cat.* iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4, quoted by Mr Newman as above.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. cli.

Helena. In his discourse upon the death of Theodosius⁶, he takes occasion to eulogize the mother of Constantine, and relates the success of her endeavour to possess herself of the Holy Cross. His narrative, divested of the flowers of oratory, is simple enough, and contains no account of any miracle⁷, unless the very preservation of the wood deserves to be so considered⁸. This father, in argument with St Chrysostom, relates the discovery of three crosses, and that the cross of our Lord was distinguished by the title affixed to it by Pilate⁹; not by the restoration of a sick person to health, or of a dead corpse to life, as we find in later writers¹⁰.

⁶ S. Ambrosii Orat. Funeb. de obitu Theod. Imp. Works, p. 137. Edit. Paris. 1529.

⁷ Eusebius speaks of miracles wrought at the Holy Sepulchre, but does not connect them with the discovery of any site. It is unfair of Dr Robinson to attempt to discredit the sacred localities by mention of the miracle, because, taking for granted that the miraculous part of the story was false, yet an interval of seventy-five years and many hundred leagues, in an age when printing was unknown, allows ample room for the intervention of erroneous statement, apart from fraudulent design. He says, "The alleged miracle, which attended her discovery of the true Cross, serves at least to show the degree of ready credulity with which the search was conducted." Vol. II. p. 76.

⁸ Yet why should it? Mr Newman refers to the recovery of the coffin of Bp. Coverdale in our own day, as a case in point. (Pref. to Fleury, p. clxx.) The interval would be about the same. But many parallels might be adduced if this were not sufficient.

⁹ So St Chrysostom (A.D. 394), and St Ambrose (A.D. 395), (the passages are given in the Appendix), Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus (A.D. 400), narrate the restoration of a corpse to life. Rufinus (400), Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret (about 440), speak only of a sick woman restored to health. St Ambrose, who is followed by later writers, adds moreover, that a further search was made for the nails: two were recovered, of which one was converted into a bit for a horse, while the other was set in a crown and presented by Helena to her son Constantine; which, Theodoret says, was handed down to his successors as a precious heir-loom.

¹⁰ Perhaps it is right "to draw a line between the earlier testimony and the evidence which follows at a later date. It would seem impossible but that the original story would receive a colour or an exaggeration when taken up as a matter of popular belief, and that in countries far removed from the scene to which it belongs." Newman's Pref. to Fleury, p. cli.

St Helena would appear to have been guided in this case, as in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, by the received and continuous tradition of the native Christian Church, which reported that the instrument of our Lord's crucifixion had been cast aside, in the hurry of the preparation of the Passover¹, into a pit near the place of execution; which she caused to be examined, and three crosses were actually discovered: and however strange or startling the fact may appear, it is better to suspend the judgment, if we are not satisfied with the evidence, than to impute so great a crime as imposture and fraud to men who, for ought we know to the contrary, may have been eminent saints². It seems scarcely credible that the search would have been commenced at all without some reasonable prospect of success, grounded on a probable tradition: and the desire to recover such a relic, if possible, was not unnatural, and quite in accordance with the spirit of the age, which however was satisfied with the possession and legitimate use of such memorials, and did not exalt them into dols—for St Ambrose expressly declares that when “she found the title, she adored the King, not the wood; for that is the error of the Gentiles, and the vanity of the wicked. But she adored Him who hung on the wood, (whose name was) written in the title³.”

¹ Observe: The death of the two malefactors was hastened in consequence; our Lord's burial in the neighbouring tomb, because it was “nigh at hand;” and the postponement of the embalming, all prove that the proceedings were *hurried*. See St John xix. 31, 32, 42.

² “If the discovery was not really made, there was *imposture* in the proceeding: an imputation upon the

church of Jerusalem, nay, in the event, on the whole Christian world, so heavy as to lead us to weigh well which is the more probable hypothesis of the two, so systematic and sustained a fraud, or the discovery of a relic, or, in human language, an antiquity, three hundred years old.” Newman's Pref. to Fleury, p. cl.

³ “Invenit ergo titulum, regem adoravit, non lignum, utique quia hic

It is not my intention to notice the other traditionary sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre⁴, because the three which I have dwelt upon at length are incomparably the most important, and belong to an age much antecedent to that which is claimed for most of the remainder. Indeed, the most probable account of these chapels and oratories would appear to be, that they were first fixed by devotion, merely with a view to commemorate such circumstances attending that awful scene⁵ as the sacred evangelists were inspired to record, without any idea of identifying the spots; and that the simplicity of pilgrims in later ages has assigned the transactions to these particular localities. In the former view, they may still be not without their use to one who is more intent on turning to good account a visit to these sacred scenes, than disposed to ridicule and despise feelings which he cannot understand or appreciate. The same may be said of other traditionary sites in and about the Holy City; and for himself, the writer will not hesitate to avow that he never passed up "the Dolorous Way" without looking with deep interest at the "Church of the Flagellation," the "arch of the Ecce Homo," and the "Impression in the Wall⁶;" or that he even felt it a pleasure to sojourn and a privilege to suffer in the house of Saint Veronica, not because he attached

Gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum. Sed adoravit illum qui pependit in ligno scriptus in titulo." St Ambrosii Orat. Funeb. ut sup.

⁴ The reader will find them all marked in the very accurate Plan copied from one made on the spot by a Russian artist.

⁵ As "the Calvary" so frequently seen in Roman Catholic countries—especially in the Tyrol and Southern Germany.

⁶ These will all be found in the Plan of the City, corrected from Dr Robinson's, which was itself an improvement on Mr Catherwood's.

much importance to the traditions in question¹, but for reasons, which need not be explained, in which he hopes that many of his readers would sympathise; nor does he envy the man who could pass by in disgust these and such-like *mementos*—for this at least they are—and returning home, not only feel, but write, “enough of such absurdities!”² He is not aware that the view here advocated is in the slightest degree superstitious—if it be, he humbly trusts that such superstition will not be visited more severely than the extreme of irreverence.

¹ If any think that the more intelligent pilgrims, in what will be considered the darkest ages, placed confidence in the *minor* traditions, let the following passages undeceive him. St Jerome speaks thus of a tradition which happens to be mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrims as early as 333: “*Simpliciores fratres inter ruinas templi et altaris, sive in portarum exitibus quæ Siloe ducunt, rubra saxa monstrantes, Zachariæ sanguine putant esse polluta. Non condemnamus errorem, qui de odio*

Judæorum, et fidei pietate descendit.” Comment in Matt. xxiv. Works, Vol. iv. pp. 112, 113. Ed. Bened. And much later, in the age of the crusaders, “*Hæc intra urbem a fidelibus venerantur. Flagellatio Jesu Christi, atque coronatio, ac derisio, et cætera quæ pro nobis pertulit: sed non faciliè ubi fuerunt nunc dignosci possunt, cum præsertim civitas ipsa totiens postea destructa atque deleta sit.*” *Gesta Francorum*, p. 573.

² Bib. Res. i. 344.



ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. I. PART II.

SINCE the foregoing chapter was finished I have had an opportunity of seeing Dr Robinson's rejoinder¹ to that section of Mr Newman's Essay on Miracles, relating to the topography of Jerusalem, which has been more than once referred to in the notes. I have found nothing in the additional remarks of the Professor which requires me to alter a single line of what I have already written on the subject, but some undesigned concessions which tend to confirm the views which have now been set forth; and it is on this account that I here notice them.

On the personal arguments I would merely remark, that the cause of truth and charity would probably not have suffered materially had they been more sparingly used on both sides, in this as in other controversies; and certainly the readers would not have been less edified.

I proceed to points of more general interest. And first, I would quote a passage parallel to some which have been already given in a note above, in which the writer reiterates the assurance that the original bias of his mind was in favour of the traditionary site of the Holy Sepulchre. "If I had a partiality of feeling, it certainly was in favour of finding the true site in the traditionary one; for I went to Jerusalem prepossessed with the idea, that such, after all, might be the actual state of the case²." It is right, of course, that his arguments should have the benefit of this repeated declaration; but it is at once evident from this language that the probabilities were nearly balanced in his mind; and I cannot help thinking that an undue suspicion of traditionary evidence and a horror of "monkish superstition" turned the scale, and that he was actuated from the first by a desire to disprove the credibility of the received sites. Without some such previous disposition it seems difficult to account for the fact, that from

¹ Published in a periodical entitled
Bibliotheca Sacra, edited in New York
by Dr Robinson. The paper is found

in Part I. No. 3, pp. 154—202.

² p. 157.

the moment of his entering Jerusalem the grand features of its topography were *looked for* where they could not exist consistently with the hypothesis of the present sepulchre being the true one—that on his failing to discover any traces of the Tyropæon where he expected to discover it, he had no misgivings as to the course which he had marked out for it—no suspicion that that large and well defined valley which then forced itself on his observation¹, of which he so often speaks, commencing near the Damascus gate and stretching down to the pool of Siloam—so bisecting the city—might possibly be the very valley of which he was in quest;—and that the dissimilarity of his Acra from that described by Josephus, which has already been fully stated, did not occasion him any perplexity. It surely is not unreasonable, considering the language of Josephus, that “the Essayist” or any one else should “seem to consider Acra as an isolated hill, and speak of the wall as either traversing the hill, or as inclosing it.” And we have a fair ground for hesitating to receive a description so contrary to Josephus as is that of Dr Robinson, who informs us again that “instead of being isolated, Acra is merely the south-eastern end or point of the long swell which forms the high ground on the north-west of Jerusalem, and sinks down gradually towards the temple, as it enters the city.”

And I am glad to find a confirmation of my own observations on the comparative height of this ground and Zion, sufficient at least for the argument, in the language of a correspondent and disciple of Dr Robinson, who, in speaking of the ruined tower of Tancred in the north-west angle of the walls, presumes that its site is “the highest in the city.” Now if the second wall traversed the highest part of this ridge, which, as Dr Robinson remarks, “rises somewhat higher than the north-west part of the city itself²,” could the historian with any propriety have described Zion as *the upper city*, and its mount as “much more lofty” than Acra?

I am glad to find that the tradition of the Pool of Hezekiah is placed on its right basis in the paper under review; but I appeal to the extracts which I have already made from the Researches in proof that

¹ Vol. i. p. 353; and see above, p. 272, note 2.

² Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 189, note 1. All writers who notice the language of Josephus do the same. Let the names of Reland, Lightfoot, and Rau-

mer, suffice as examples. The essayist errs in good company, if error it be. See above pp. 264-5.

³ Bib. Sac. p. 30, in a communication from Mr. Woolcott.

⁴ Bib. Res. i. p. 351.

too great importance was there attached to this modern tradition, calculated, if not designed, to produce a false impression on the mind of the reader. The Professor now writes, "I am not aware that any such tradition exists, or ever has existed, in respect to this pool, except on the lips of the monks;...the native name is *Birket el-Hammâm*, Pool of the Bath⁵." But I must deny that "no unprejudiced reader would fail to remark" that "in connecting this reservoir with Hezekiah he was guided solely by its correspondence, in position and character, to the scriptural accounts of the pool constructed by that monarch⁶." Whether this correspondence is so very obvious, will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

Another statement of the Researches on which I have had occasion to remark is negatived in the later publication, viz. that which relates to the four gates which led from the outer court of the temple on the west side, one into the upper city, two into the suburbs, and the fourth into the lower city. It will be remembered that once in his larger work Dr Robinson disposes of this difficult passage by simply observing in a parenthesis, that these suburbs are identical with "the new city on the north," which was shewn to be impossible; in this paper (as indeed elsewhere in the Researches) he makes *three* of these gates lead into the *lower city*⁷, virtually conceding what has been argued at length, that some part of the lower city west of the temple had the distinct designation of "the suburbs." I would here add to what has been above said on this subject, that the division between Acra proper and Millo, or the suburbs, was perhaps marked by the wall built by the Asmoneans to cut off the garrison in Acra from the market⁸.

I would wish that the author had refrained from a repetition of the very inaccurate statement that even in our Saviour's time "the population had spread beyond the walls" *on the west quarter* of the old town, and that "*here* were already extensive suburbs, which the third wall was afterwards built to protect⁹," because he must know

⁵ Bib. Res. i. p. 196.

⁶ I do not speak of the impression made on myself, who must be presumed prejudiced, but on others, who certainly were not so.

⁷ Bib. Sac. p. 188. See above p. 274.

⁸ Ant. XIII. v. 11.

⁹ Ibid. p. 195, note 4. The argu-

ment from the nature of the ground in this quarter—adduced in this same note, weak as it is in itself—is surely sufficiently answered by the Monument of John the high priest, and the sepulchral excavations still to be seen, to which allusion has already been made.

that he can only *prove* that the city had overflowed *on the north side*¹, and it has been already shewn that the west quarter of the new city was thinly peopled. It would surely be well to pause before he charges others with "an attempt to cast dust in the reader's eyes," until he has asked himself whether he had the same intention in such passages as these, with which his book abounds, and which "have the appearance at least of deliberate misinterpretation," but of which we may charitably hope that "not only the *suppressio veri*, but also the *suggestio falsi*"², was quite unintentional.

I cannot but regret that the Professor has thought right to reiterate his accusation against Bishop Macarius and the church at Jerusalem³, which has been already quoted⁴, and need not to be repeated; and to which I recur only to notice an apparent inconsistency, which had occurred to my mind before, but on which I had forbore to remark. If the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the blessed Cross were "a work of pious fraud," "a well laid and successful plan of the bishop and his clergy," with what propriety can he elsewhere say that "it would seem not improbable that Helena was the *prime mover* in *searching for and discovering* the sacred Sepulchre, and that *through her representations* her son was induced to undertake the erection of the church"⁵. It is equally difficult to imagine how a person in her position could be "interested"⁶ in any bad sense in such an undertaking, and to suppose that she should lend herself to the ambitious projects of others; and I will add, that the sneer at the pious octogenarian convert and pilgrim might well have been spared. It must surely be a most miserable system in which Dr Robinson has been brought up, which can allow him even to imagine the possibility of such flagrant wickedness in the

¹ As Dr R. himself writes, Bib. Sac. p. 193.

² pp. 202 (note), 198 and 200. The words within commas (but not the reservations) are merely a sample of the unseemly phrases (apart from strictly personal reflections) which Dr Robinson is not ashamed to use of Mr Newman. One may regret some expressions in this last-named author's critique, but there is nothing *virulent* in its tone.

³ Bib. Sac. p. 170.

⁴ See above, p. 255, note 4.

⁵ Bib. Res. II. pp. 14, 15, repeated in the Bib. Sac. p. 184. See the same admission Bib. Res. II. p. 76. However, in his later essay "he is not sure that this admission is not too broad." It is very difficult to deal with such shifting concessions and retractions, which are so frequent.

⁶ Dr Robinson says that "the localities were assigned and the traditions brought forward by a credulous and unenlightened zeal, well meant indeed, but not uninterested." Bib. Res. I. 372.

rulers of the Early Church, or to speak of such characters as St Helena in the terms which he employs. Besides, one would have thought that the very fact of a bishop of Cæsarea—the rival see according to his hypothesis—being so actively engaged in the undertaking, and lauding it in such terms as he does, would have been an obvious answer to silence even those who *wished* to believe such shocking calumny.

I would only further remark on the repetition of the very perplexing argument in support of the theory of the "Gate Gennath" being near the Hippic tower, because it is a point of great importance. "The Gate of Gennath must have been near to the tower Hippicus on the north-west part of Zion." "It must have been east of Hippicus, because the third wall began at that tower; it could not have been far distant, because that part of Zion was then high and steep⁷." I must again repeat that it is quite beyond my comprehension to imagine what *imperative necessity* there could have been to place a city-gate at the top of a precipitous rock of thirty cubits high, which must infallibly have endangered the lives of all who were rash enough to attempt the exit. I really should have thought such a position absolutely impossible, even if the royal palace had not been here to prevent it.

I will take this opportunity of making a further remark on an expression of Josephus relative to Acra, which I forgot to do in the discussion above; and I thank Dr Robinson for reminding me of it. The Jewish historian describes the figure of this hill as ἀμφίκυρτος, an expression as to the exact meaning of which the learned are not agreed, at least in this connexion. It properly describes the form of the moon in the middle of its second or third quarter, commonly called "gibbous," greater than half, less than full⁸; Dr Robinson, wishing to turn this to account also for his Acra, gives a sense quite different to that which other writers have done: he supposes it may mean nothing more than that Acra was "sloping on both sides," i.e. "was a ridge running down into the city⁹!" an explanation which is either repeated or contradicted—it is not clear which—in the subsequent pub-

⁷ Bib. Sac. Pt. I. p. 186, and note 3. The remaining argument in this note is also fully answered in the preceding chapter.

⁸ I copy from the learned Reland. Suidas ad vocem τετρακτὺς scribit

esse τέσσαρας τῆς σελήνης μορφάς. Ἀρτίτοκος γὰρ, μονοειδὴς, ἀμφίκυρτος, καὶ πανσέληνος. See more to the purpose, Palestina, p. 852.

⁹ Bib. Res. I. 410.

lication¹. Now, without waiting to insist on the great difficulty there would be to account, on this supposition, for the opposition implied in the description of Zion, which Josephus says was "more direct" than Acra, it will surely be more fair to allow the author to explain himself, which he seems to do very clearly in two passages which have been above referred to, in one of which he speaks of the wall of Acra running in a *circular* course, in another of a *northern and southern part* of the same; in the former giving the *curve* of the moon, in the latter the *base of its illuminated segment*; then its opposition to the other hill will be plain enough, and entirely consistent with fact, the latter being nearly a square, the former quite of a gibbous form!

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, Vol. I. p. 189, note 1, (end.)



South View of Mount Moriah from Enrogel.

CHAPTER II.

THE JEWISH TEMPLE AND THE FORTRESS ANTONIA.

To pass from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the opposite hill of Moriah. My plan here will be to describe the present features of the Temple-mountain, as far as possible from my own observations as confirmed by others, and then, by comparing the notices of ancient writers with existing phænomena, to endeavour to contribute something towards the elucidation of this most difficult subject: happy if I can succeed in clearing away some rubbish, in order to facilitate the operations of future labourers on the same ground.

I proceed to a survey of the enclosure of the great Mosk, the general appearance of which has been already described, and I shall prefer to use the language of others rather than my own, for reasons which will be presently obvious¹.

El Haram es Sherif, "the noble sanctuary," occupies an area contained within four unequal sides nearly opposite to the four cardinal points. "The length of the east wall is 1520 feet, of the south wall 940 feet, of the west wall 1617 feet, and of the north 1020 feet; and the walls stand at right-angles only at one point, the south-west corner." "The Mosk of Omar occupies the middle space, nearly, between the southern and northern walls;" but is "exactly one-third, or 320 feet, nearer the western than the eastern wall." It stands on an "extensive platform measuring 450 feet from east to west, and 550 feet from north to south, paved in part with marble," rising "in general about 15 or 16 feet above the area," and approached "by three flights of stairs on the western side," "on the north side two, on the south side two, on the east side one."

The mosk itself "is octagonal in form, each side measuring 67 feet; its dome is covered with lead, and surmounted by a tall gilt crescent." "Under this dome is a

¹ I am here much indebted to a paper in Mr Bartlett's "Walks about Jerusalem," contributed by Mr Catherwood with his usual kindness; and I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to that gentleman for his courtesy to me, and my regret that, while availing myself so largely of his observations, I am obliged to differ so widely from his deductions and con-

clusions. This letter will be found from p. 161 to 178 of the book in question, with plans and illustrations, all extremely interesting; and the references are to this. Mr Catherwood visited the Mosk daily for six weeks in 1833, and was assisted in his survey by two other architects then at Jerusalem, Messrs. Bonomi and Arundel. Walks, 161, 164.

remarkable limestone rock, which occupies the greater part of the area beneath [the dome], and appears to be the natural surface of the rock of Mount Moriah." "It is irregular in its form, and measures about 60 feet in one direction, and 50 in the other. It projects about 5 feet above the marble pavement of the mosk, which is itself 12 feet above the general level of the enclosure." "At the south-east corner of this rock is an excavated chamber, irregular in form; its superficial area being about 600 feet, the average height 7. In the centre of the rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck, returns a hollow sound, clearly showing that there is a well or excavation beneath."

"Proceeding southward from the platform of the Mosk of Omar, at the distance of 350 feet" is the "porch of Mosk el-Aksa, which occupies the remaining space of 280 feet, extending to the southern wall of the great enclosure the entire breadth being 180 feet . . . Attached to the south-west angle of this building is the Mosk of Abu-Bekr . . . upwards of 200 feet in length and 55 in breadth" . . . and at right angles with this again, the Mosk of the Mogrebins, 200 feet in length, and at the opposite end of this edifice, on the edge of the wall, is the small Mosk of Omar, 85 feet in length.

Beneath this Mosk of el-Aksa is a vaulted passage or corridor, which was the only part of the precincts of the mosk which I was able to explore during my stay at Jerusalem². This avenue is composed of two aisles, with a

² I was introduced to it *through a hole in the southern wall* of the exterior enclosure, (which was stopped up soon after my second visit) by Mr Woolcott, an American missionary

from Beirout, whose description I follow, as contained in a communication made to Dr R., published in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Part 1. p. 17, &c. It was seen by Maundrell, Jour-

row of columns in the middle, approached from the court of the haram at the north by a door in the eastern aisle. The entrance from the haram is "immediately to the left of the main entrance" to El-Aksa, and down "a flight of stone steps." It is arched with stones, and each aisle, exclusive of the columns, about 19 feet in width; the whole width of the area being 42 feet, and its length 280 feet¹. Towards the southern end there is a descent of several feet by steps in the western aisle; when the visitor finds himself before a double gateway of noble dimensions, supported by two Corinthian columns of marble, with highly decorated capitals. Some of the stones in the side walls are as much as 13 feet in length and bevelled.

Within the area of the haram the subterranean vaults at the south-east next demand attention². The descent to these is from a small mosk in the angle of the wall, and they consist of fifteen rows of square pillars, from which spring arches supporting the platform. These vaults at present extend about 320 feet towards the west, while to the northward their width varies from 100 to 200 feet: and they are closed up, both to the north and west, by walls of more modern date than the architecture of the pillars and arches. The roots of the olive-trees on the platform above "have struck through the arches and in some instances taken root again below. The ground . . . rises rapidly from the south-east towards the north and west, so that the height of the southern arches is 35 feet,

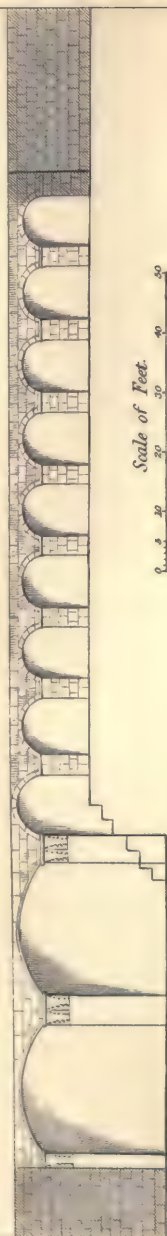
ney, p. 100; is referred to in the Bib. Res. i. 446, 447; and described briefly by Mr Catherwood, Walks, pp. 169, 170.

¹ The width is given by Mr Woolcott, the length supplied by Mr Cather-

wood, Walks, l. c. It is the same length as the mosk above it.

² Here I follow Mr Catherwood again, Bib. Res. i. 448; and Walks, 170.

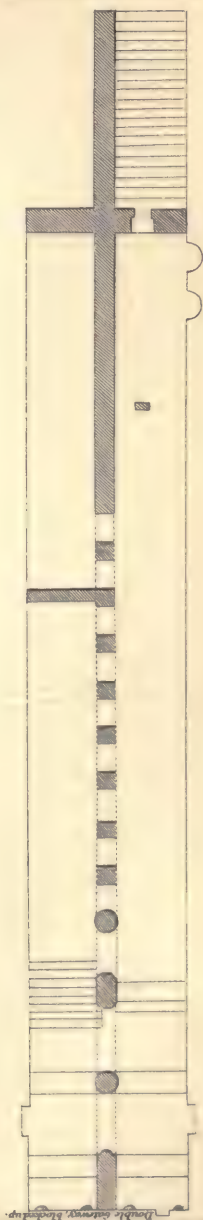
SUBTERRANEAN ARCADE AT THE SOUTH OF THE HARAM



NORTH

GROUND PLAN OF THE SUBTERRANEAN ARCADE

SOUTH



while the northern ones are but 10 feet high. The whole substruction appears to be of Roman origin."

One further observation will suffice for the survey of the interior. It relates to the north-west angle of the enclosure, and is of the utmost importance³. This inner angle is formed "by the rock being cut perpendicularly to an extent of 20 feet in some parts," while within the area also, towards the mosk, "a considerable portion of the rock has been cut away⁴."

To proceed now to a circuit of the exterior walls, commencing on the east side, above the Valley of Jehoshaphat⁵. Here are observed at the north-east and also at the south-east corner of the area several courses of large stones, evidently of ancient masonry, "one at the north-east measuring 24 feet in length, by 3 in height, and 6 in breadth," and some at the south-east varying "from 17 to 19 feet in length by 3 or four feet in height, while one block at the corner is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick⁶." On this side there is nothing else to remark but the Golden Gate, "the external front and arches of which are evidently of Roman origin;" while in the interior "a central row of noble Corinthian columns and a groined roof once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship. It is situated nearly 300 feet north of the middle of the present enclosure⁷." It has been presumed to be of the same age and style as the gate already noticed under the Mosk el-Aksa⁸.

³ Catherwood, Walks, 174, 175.

⁴ Bartlett, ib. 156.

⁵ For the exterior I follow Dr Robinson, and trust implicitly to his "measuring-tape," which I believe is pretty correct (much more so than his deductions from it); but I never had

the curiosity to test its accuracy.

⁶ Bib. Res. I. 422, 423.

⁷ Bib. Res. I. 437, 438, embodying a statement from Mr Bonomi the architect.

⁸ Mr Catherwood, writing of the gateway under El-Aksa, says: "This

On the south side of the outer enclosure, at a distance of 325 feet from its south-west, and 630 from its south-east corner¹, the modern city-wall starts off from the wall of the haram at a right angle, at the precise point where the ancient double gateway under the Mosk el-Aksa is found, which is actually divided by this wall, so that one-half is included, the other excluded, from the modern city. Part of the ornamented capital may be seen appearing from the mass of modern masonry, by which the entrance has been blocked up; and the curious traveller may have a view of the corridor by climbing up to the iron grating in the same wall, which the accumulation of rubbish will enable him to reach without difficulty². Here a rude pile of Saracenic buildings abuts upon the wall of the mosk, from one of the lower apartments of which, approached from within the city, my stealthy entrance was effected. "This mass of buildings are merely offices connected with the mosk³."

In this same southern wall of the haram, a little to the east of this gateway, "are three Roman arches, walled up, about 25 feet high and 14 broad, entering apparently into the three western intervals . . . of the vaults. Further east, near the end of the wall, is a Saracenic arch closed

gateway is *apparently* of the same age and style as the Golden Gateway," p. 170. But in p. 173 he is more confident, and says "it is *evidently* of the same architecture, and connected with the same general design." I prefer the language of the former passage. He examined the Golden Gateway within, and found its length to be about 70 feet by a breadth of 25 feet.

¹ Biblical Res. i. 395, compared with 419, where he gives the breadth of the south wall as 955, being 15 feet more than Mr Catherwood, (see above, p. 316.) But, to avoid confusion, I follow the Bib. Res. and will explain more fully below my reasons for doing so.

² Woolcott, Bib. Sac. i. 18, 19.

³ Catherwood, Walks, p. 169.

up, and about the same size⁴." There is nothing more to be remarked on the south side.

We come now to some interesting remains at the south-west corner of the area of the mosk—to which much importance has of late been attached—viz. "several large stones jutting out of the western wall, which at the first sight seem to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake;" but, on further inspection, "the courses of these immense stones, which seem at first to have sprung out of their places in the wall, in consequence of some enormous violence," are found to "occupy, nevertheless, their original position." They have in fact "the appearance of having once belonged to a large arch: their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this western wall, in a direction towards Mount Zion, across the valley of the Tyropæon." The traveller to whom we owe this very accurate description of the antiquity, is convinced that "this arch could only have belonged to THE BRIDGE which, according to Josephus, led from [the south] part of the temple to the xystus on Zion;" of which much more will be said presently⁵. "The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken. Its southern side is 39 English feet distant from the south-west corner of the area, and the arch itself measures 51 feet along the wall. Three courses of its stones still remain; of which one is 5 feet 4 inches thick, and the others not much less. One of the stones is $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, another $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the rest in like proportion." And besides these stones connected with

⁴ Woolcott, ut sup. p. 23.

⁵ See below, p. 336.

the arch, there are at this south-west corner other "huge blocks;" and "the corner-stone now next above the surface of the ground measures 30 feet 10 inches in length, by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad; and several others vary from $20\frac{1}{2}$ to $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 5 feet in thickness¹."

At present I am only engaged in a survey, and pass on to the next object of interest towards the north, the Wailing-place of the Jews², where we find a fragment of which "the stones are of the same dimensions, and the wall of the same character, as in the parts already described³."

Further still towards the north, we reach the southernmost entrance to the haram from the west, approached by the causeway across the Tyropæon from the north-east angle of Zion, which has been so frequently mentioned⁴. From this point towards the north, "the western wall is mostly hidden by the houses of the city," but "there are on this side four entrances," (including that which has now been noticed) "to which streets lead down to the city⁵." And "the principal entrance... is through the deserted bazaar⁶," of which mention was made above: the one most to the north is in the neighbourhood of the seraglio, which stands on the north side of the north-west angle of the haram, and which next claims attention.

This building, "probably occupying in part the site of the ancient fortress Antonia⁷, rests upon a precipice of rock, which formerly swept down abruptly, and has obviously

¹ Bib. Res. 424, &c. Compare 351.

² Bib. Res. Vol. I. pp. 422, 3; and compare 350, 351.

³ Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 423. Compare p. 350; and see a very correct drawing of this and the ruined arch, in Mr

Bartlett's book, pp. 154 and 150.

⁴ See above, Part I. ch. i. and Part II. ch. i. p. 275.

⁵ Bib. Res. I. 420, 21.

⁶ Catherwood, p. 165.

⁷ Bib. Res. I. 420.

been cut away to form the level below, which also bears marks of having been scarped⁸." This rocky precipice rises to a height of upwards of 20 feet, as was seen in the interior survey⁹.

Immediately east of this large building is an entrance to the area of the mosk from the north, and a second at no great distance. Beyond this, "on its northern side, the area is skirted for nearly half its breadth by the deep pool or trench usually called Bethesda, and vaults connected with it¹⁰." "The pool measures 360 English feet in length, 103 in breadth, and 75 in depth to the bottom; besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages. It was once evidently used as a reservoir."

On the western side of the south-west angle "two lofty arched vaults extend in westward, side by side, under the houses which now cover that part. The southernmost of these arches is 12 feet in breadth, and the other 19 feet." Notwithstanding the accumulation of rubbish within and before them, "yet 100 feet may be measured within the northern one, and it seemed to extend much further. This gives the whole work a length of at least 460 feet, equal to nearly one half the whole breadth of the enclosure of the mosk; and how much more we do not know¹¹." This, Dr Robinson conjectures, is the ancient fosse of the fortress of Antonia. Its eastern end is close to the city wall, leaving only a narrow way to the haram from the St Stephen's gate. This brings us again to the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, and to the massive stones of ancient masonry in the corner, with which I began the survey of

⁸ Bartlett, p. 156, represented in a drawing, p. 108.

⁹ See above, p. 319.

¹⁰ Bib. Res. I. 420.

¹¹ Ib. I. 434. See his arguments, Bib. Res. I. 432—436.

the exterior. I am now to endeavour to reconcile these phenomena with the ancient records of Josephus and others.

And here we are met at the outset by a most striking contrast between the ancient and the modern area; the length of the latter exceeding its breadth, as we have seen, "by 573 feet, or more than one half¹," whereas, according to the united witness of Josephus and the Talmud, the former was a complete square². It is of course easy to account for this by supposing that these ancient authorities were mistaken; and so we may dispose of any historical testimony whatever. But let us see whether there is any reason to believe that the Jews knew anything at all of the matter, as does seem probable at first sight. It happens that they not only give the form, but the dimensions also. Josephus tells us it was a stadium square, and the Talmud 500 cubits³. Now making full allowance for the acknowledged "uncertainty which exists as to the length of the Jewish cubit," let us grant that it "may be taken at $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet (as is often done);" and then, with further allowance for our own ignorance and round numbers, let us suppose that the testimony of Josephus is not irreconcilable with that of the Talmud. "The rabbinical specification of 500 cubits or 875 feet, if reckoned only from portico to portico, would not vary very materially from the results of [modern] measurements⁴" in the breadth of the area, which gives 955 feet. But this breadth is determined on both sides by boundaries which are not liable

¹ Bib. Res. i. 431.

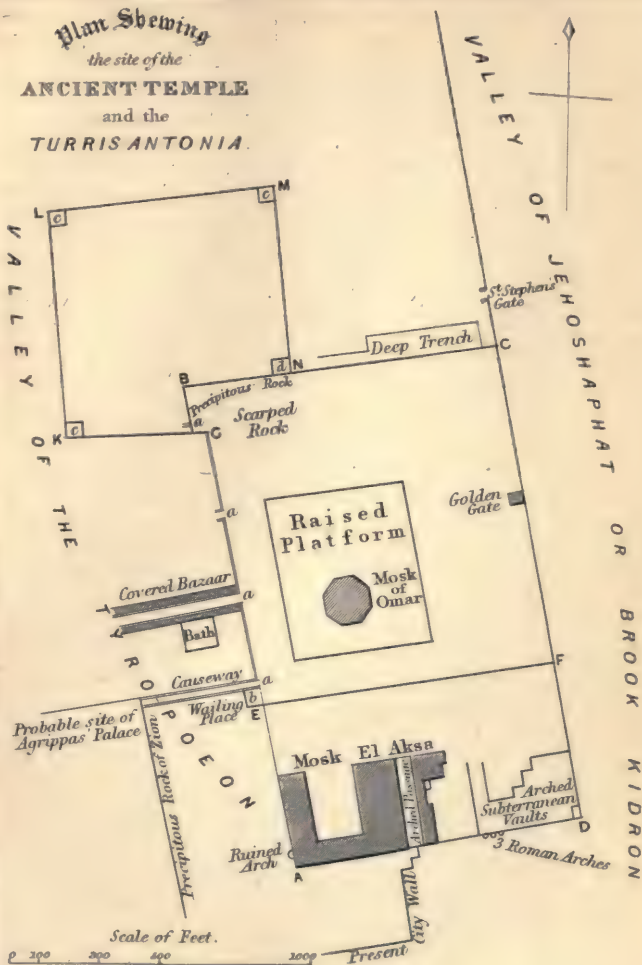
² Josephus, Ant. xv. xiv. Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, cap. ii.

³ Lightfoot ut sup. This learned author most justly remarks, that "this number of five hundred cubits upon

every side the square, is so agreeable to the number of Ezekiel, that that helpeth to confirm and justify this proportion and account." See Ezek. xlii. 20; xlv. 2.

⁴ Bib. Res. 430, 1.

Plan Shewing
the site of the
ANCIENT TEMPLE
and the
TURRIS ANTONIA.



A.B.C.D. El Haram or Area of the Great Mosk

A.E.F.D. Southern part occupied by the Church and Hospitals of Justinian

E.B.C.F. Area of the Jewish Temple about 1000 F² square, i.e. 4000 in circuit

E.G.K.L.M.N.C.F. The Temple area including Antonia about 6000 F² in compass

E.G. being 850, C.K. 400, K.L. 750, L.M. 750, M.N. 600, N.C. 650, C.F. 1000, F.E. 1000.

a.a.a.a. Four western entrances to the Haram

b. Cadi's Office or Mekhene

c.c.c. Three corner towers of Antonia 50 cubits high

d. S.E. corner tower of Antonia 10 cubits high
commanding the View of the whole Temple

to material change, viz. the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, and another marked valley on the west; for so says Josephus, writing of the southern portico, "it reached in length from the east valley to that on the west; for it was impossible that it should extend any further⁵." Now deducting 875 feet—the supposed value of 500 Hebrew cubits—for the breadth of the area within the porticos, from 955 feet, the ascertained width from valley to valley unchangeably marked by nature, exactly 80 feet will be left for the porticos on either side, and these porticos according to Josephus were 30 cubits wide each; about 90 feet altogether, shewing a difference of only 10 feet⁶! I ask if it be not a most gratifying result, that the comparison thus instituted shews so close an agreement of existing phænomena with the Jewish measurement, as nearly as we can approximate to it? I confess it surpasses my most sanguine expectations; and I think that such a result should dispose us to attach some weight to their other observations on the same subject, because, if they were accurately informed on this point, it was not likely that they would have fallen into great error on the other; for if the authorities for this assertion trusted only to their eye, and yet guessed so near, could they have imagined that the court was *square* if it had been oblong, as at present?

It is necessary to insist on the credibility of these accounts, because a gentleman whose opinion is worthy of some consideration as a professional man, thinks that he has discovered within the present enclosure satisfactory evidence that the court of the ancient temple was co-exten-

⁵ Ant. xv. c. xi. 5. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκ-
τεῖναι προσωτέρω δύνατον.

⁶ I suppose Josephus to have reck-

oned by the common cubit, best known
to the Romans, generally reckoned at
1½ feet.

sive with it; and as this evidence is found at the north-west and south-east angles of the area, its establishment as fact would determine the question against Josephus and the Talmud. I have been anxious to shew that they were probably not writing at random or in the dark, and that consequently the arguments must be very strong indeed to justify us in setting aside their testimony.

What are the arguments? The perpendicular rock at the north-west, and the raised platform at the south-east angle. Of the former of these he says, that "the cutting away of the rock must of course be of the time of Solomon. It could need no repair, and is the only work (connected with the temple) that can with absolute certainty be referred to that monarch¹." And of the latter, "the whole substruction appears to me to be of Roman origin, and in connexion with the Golden Gate, and the one beneath the El-Aksa, together with the ancient bridge, to have formed a connected plan of foundation and approaches to the great Temple of Herod²." Reserving for future consideration the question whether one of these remains might not admit of a satisfactory explanation on another theory, I will beg leave to presume for a time that it can, and will proceed to another point of deep interest.

Supposing the Jewish account to be in the main correct, and the temple-area to have been nearly a square of from 900 to 1000 feet, how are we to account for the present aspect of the haram, whose length exceeds its breadth more than one half, and at which end has the addition been made? Dr Robinson has accounted for the

¹ Catherwood (in Bartlett's Walks), p. 175. I regret that this gentleman's estimate of Josephus should be so low.

² Ib. p. 171.

difference by an ingenious hypothesis, that the fortress of Antonia covered the whole north side of the temple, and that the space formerly occupied by that fortress was taken into the court of Adrian's idol-temple, and is now included within the haram: and this hypothesis he thinks is supported by the remark of the Jewish historian, that the circuit of the temple, including the Antonia, was six stadia³; and it is obvious that his view would most satisfactorily explain the meaning of this obscure passage⁴.

But there is, unfortunately, one insuperable objection at least to this theory, which must have escaped the writer's notice, or he could not have passed it over without some attempt at explanation. It is obvious, from numerous passages, that *the whole* of the north wall of the temple was *not covered* by the fortress in question. When Pompey had been received into the city by the Roman faction, he proceeded to force the temple, which was occupied by the adverse party of Aristobulus. To effect this he pitched his camp within the city on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug in which a bank was raised with great labour, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, and on this the engines were placed, and the wall battered, until a breach was effected through which the temple was taken⁵. Again, when Cestius had set fire to Bezetha at the beginning of the Jewish war, and had attempted for five days, without success, to effect his entrance into the upper

³ Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.

⁴ See Bib. Res. i. 430, &c. he says, "This conjecture.....is supported by various facts, while it is, so far as I

know, contradicted by none." 432.

⁵ Ant. xiv. iv. 2, 3. ...πόλιν...τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ἰσχυράν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν,

city, he diverted his attack to the temple, and sought to break into it at the northern quarter, the Jews being in possession of Antonia. He was repulsed by the Jews from the cloisters; when the soldiers undermined the wall, and prepared to set fire to the gate of the temple¹. Further, when Titus had taken the outer wall of the city, the Jews “divided into several bands, and courageously defended the wall; John and his faction fighting from the tower of Antonia, and *from the northern cloister of the temple*;²” which would have been unnecessary, or rather absurd, if the whole space of Antonia, with its deep fosse, had been interposed between them and the enemy.

Besides this, although I cannot allow so much weight to the perpendicular rock at the north-west angle as is attached to it in the passages lately quoted³, yet as a link in a chain of argument, for the identity of the northern bound of the temple-court with that of the present mosk, it is fairly entitled to some consideration; for if not connected with the Jewish temple, it is certainly difficult to imagine when, and by whom, and with what object, so great a work was effected.

Another difficulty is suggested by the position of what is commonly called the Golden Gate. This gate, which is generally allowed to have belonged to Herod's Temple, is conjectured by Dr Robinson to be of the era of Adrian,

περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐ-
ρείατε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβά-
νουσα τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτε-
ρῶς πᾶν τετειχισμένον..... Πομπήϊος
δὲ ἔσωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται, κατὰ τὸ
βορεῖον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπί-
μαχον· ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα
μεγάλοι πύργοι, καὶ τάφρος δὲ ὁρώ-
ρουκτο, καὶ βαθεῖα περιείχετο φάραγγι

... μόλις πλησθείσης τοῦ τάφρου
διὰ βάθος ἀπειρον . . . κατήρασσε τὸ
ἱερόν τοῖς πετροβόλοις, κ. τ. λ.

¹ Josephus, J. W. II. xix. 5. See
above, Pt. I. chap. ii.

² Ibid. v. vii. 3; for other proofs
see Ant. xiv. xv. 14; xvi. 1, 2; J. W.
II. iii. 1, and v. ix. 1.

³ See above, p. 326.

and to have conducted to his idol-temple; but this is, as far as I know, pure conjecture, without any authority whatever, as is also the idea, which it is adduced to confirm, "That the walls of the area were at this time rebuilt, at least in part⁴." "This gate is situated nearly 300 feet north of the middle of the present enclosure," or 1045 feet from the south, and 483 from the north extremity⁵; and if it belonged to the court of the temple, would be without the square, according to the theory under review.

Once more: those very ancient stones near the St Stephen's gate, which appear to have occupied an angle of a Jewish wall⁶, and never to have been disturbed from their original position, seem clearly to determine the direction of the northern and eastern walls of the temple-area; for it has been shown that they could not belong to the fortress of Antonia. And lastly, the deep fosse at the north does answer so exactly to the description⁷ of the trench which separated the temple from the opposite hill, that in the face of such evidence I cannot do otherwise than conclude that we have *here* the northern boundary of the temple-area.

But let us give Josephus and the rabbies another chance, and now consider what objections there will be to cut off a space from the *southern* end of the present enclosure, so as to reduce it to about 1000 feet. Many will doubtless occur to the reader's mind. The large stones in the south-east angle, the large substructions within the same,

⁴ B. R. I. 437.

⁵ 438, compared with 395.

⁶ p. 423; see above, p. 22.

⁷ See note 6, p. 327. This is understood to be described by Strabo, in his short account of the taking of the temple by Pompey: ἦν γὰρ πετρῶδες

εὐερκὲς ἔρμα . . . τάφρον λατομήτην βάθος μὲν ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν, πλάτος δὲ πεντέκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ λατομηθέντος ἐπεπύργωτο τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. κατελάβετο δὲ . . . πληράσας τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς διαβάθρας. Lib. xvi. p. 723.

the vaulted passage under the Mosk el-Aksa, and, *last not least*, the remains of the massive arch at the western extremity. Can anything be said against such a string of palpable facts running throughout? Let us see. First, I grant that the evidences of an angle of Jewish architecture are quite as distinct at the south-east as at the north-east corner, nor do I think that any architect, however experienced, could discern between their respective dates; but I can account for such an angle at this extremity—apart from the temple—which I cannot do at the other.

Let it be remembered that the first or old wall which encompassed Zion was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple, at Ophel¹, which “is the remainder of the ridge (on which the temple stood) extending south from Moriah to Siloam, between the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, and the steep but shallower Tyropæon on the west,” “descending rapidly to the south².” Now “the south-east corner of the enclosure . . . impends over the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is at this point about 130 feet deep³,” and “which here actually bends south-west around the corner⁴,” so that “the wall on the south . . . was apparently built, not on the brow of a valley, but on the side of a declivity, which descended steeply for a time, and then ran off in a more gradual slope, forming the ridge of Ophel⁵.” So then had it been the *temple-wall* which made its angle here, it is evident that the *first or old wall* must have joined the *south* portico of the temple, not the *east*, as Josephus expressly affirms. The conclusion is unavoidable, that this is

¹ See above, Pt. I. chap. ii.

² Bib. Res. I. 394.

³ Ibid. 420.

⁴ 429. This bend of the Kedron had escaped my observation; but I

thank Dr Robinson for the remark. It forces the wall to bend, and proves that it must have been the first wall, and not the temple-wall.

⁵ B. R. p. 421.



W. F. Watts del. T. Hicks, lud.

INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF ST. JAMES.

Engraved from a drawing by W. F. Watts.



an angle of the first wall, which having been joined to the south extremity of the eastern portico of the temple about 500 feet north of this ancient fragment, had been continued south to this point⁶, and then "bent" with the valley towards the west, running "on the side of the declivity" until "a more gradual slope" allowed it to descend the "ridge of Ophel." But now if this account of the wall be satisfactory, it may be thought that the subterranean works extending from this point, probably to the western extremity, form a train of argument against my hypothesis connected as links in a chain, which render it altogether untenable. On the contrary, it is this very concatenation which to my mind renders the explanation so very much more easy, than an equal number of unconnected single facts would have been. We have already heard the opinion of an intelligent architect who has minutely examined every part, that the three works in mention are of Roman origin, and formed a connected plan⁷. His view of that plan has been also stated; but on this I must beg leave, in deference to the rabbies, to differ from him, and will proceed to state what appears to me a much more satisfactory view.

The Emperor Justinian built a large church at Jerusalem, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and of which we have a very full description from a contemporary writer, who speaks as an eye-witness. It is a subject of regret that his account of the site is not more definite: he merely says it was situated on one of the highest hills in Jerusalem. This difficulty however is obviated by a general tradition altogether consonant with existing phenomena; for "there is nothing in the subsequent history nor

⁶ I think "the great tower that lieth out," which was in Ophel, stood at this south-east angle, and that the

large stones belonged to it. See Nehem. iii. 26, 27.

⁷ See above, p. 326.

in the modern topography of Jerusalem which in the least corresponds to his description, except the present Mosk el-Aksa, at the southern extremity of the enclosure of the haram¹," and it is a happy circumstance that all agree on the only point on which the language of Procopius is at all ambiguous²; for with what justice it can be said that his account "of the *construction* of this edifice is not very clear, and borders somewhat on the fabulous," I must leave the reader to judge when he has perused it³; to me it seems one of the most minute, graphic, and intelligible architectural descriptions imaginable, worthy of an author who was accustomed to write on such subjects.

"He represents" the church "as placed upon the loftiest hill of the city, where there was not space enough to allow of the prescribed dimensions, so that they were obliged to lay the foundation on the south-east, at the bottom of the hill, and build up a wall with arched vaults in order to support that part of the building⁴." But this will give a very inadequate view of the matter, without further details from the original author. It was then, says the historian of St Sophia at Constantinople, an incomparable edifice, differing from all other buildings in Jerusalem in this, that whereas they were built on even ground on the crest

¹ Bib. Res. i. p. 439. I cannot help thinking that the very brief notice taken of Procopius's most minute description of this church, both here and at p. 451, II. 29, 30, and the attempt to disparage its authority, shews that the Professor felt it might somewhat militate against his theories; and it is, in truth, rather inconvenient for them.

² I am not quite sure that this admission is not unjust towards the author. His words, *ἵνα ὀργαζέω τοῖς*

λερεῦσι θέμις, seem, I think, plainly to point to the "Mount of Offence," which is just, as would be required, south-east of this site. If this conjecture be correct, the spot is most accurately determined, for the Mosk el-Aksa is exactly north-west of the above-mentioned mount.

³ The original is too long for insertion here, but is given in an Appendix.

⁴ Bib. Res. 438, 9.

or on the sloping sides of the hills, this had only one part based upon the solid rock, while the remainder was suspended in the air by means of arched substructions, rising with the rock until they reached the pitch of the hill, where they were joined to the ground of the sacred enclosure, (τῷ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει). It was a work of immense labour, and the architects having to contend against the natural difficulties of the site, despised the ordinary resources of art, and had recourse to strange and unheard-of expedients. They hewed out immense rocks (πέτρας) from the large quarries in the neighbouring mountains, and having cut them skilfully on the spot, conveyed them to their destination in the following manner. They constructed wagons equal in size to the stones, and placing one stone on each wagon, they yoked to each forty of the imperial bullocks, selected for their strength, and thus dragged the stone on the wain. But the roads to the city being impracticable for such wagons, they levelled the mountains to allow of their access, and thus the church was built of the dimensions required by the emperor. It was of so great width that timber could not be found suitable for the roof." But this difficulty was likewise overcome, and a particular description is given of the means; which is not to our purpose. Columns were now required answerable to the beauty of the sacred enclosure, and a quarry of marble was most seasonably and unexpectedly discovered. The buildings were thus adorned with colonnades within and without, especially the cloisters which surrounded the building on all but the eastern side. There was however a cloister along the fourth side, called Narthix, entered from near the door of the church, adorned with similar columns, forming a wonderful vestibule (αὐλῇ⁵), the gates of which were so mag-

⁵ θύραι μέταυλοι, "janua a vestibulo ferens in atrium." *Lexicon.*

nificent as to prepare the spectator for the wonders of the interior, the propylæum being an arch of immense height supported by two columns. Advancing forward by this vestibule, the visitor came to two semicircular buildings facing one another on either side of the church: they were hospitals built by the emperor, one for pilgrims, the other for poor invalids. The historian may well add that these buildings cost a considerable sum. Now when we remember that the Mosk el-Aksa "is universally regarded by oriental Christians, and also by Frank catholics, as an ancient Christian Church, once dedicated to the Virgin," that "earlier travellers" as well as later "describe it in the same manner," and that "Mr Bonomi, whose judgment as an artist cannot well be drawn into question, remarks expressly that the structure is similar in appearance to those raised in the early ages of Christianity¹;" I suppose there can be but one opinion that the Mosk el-Aksa is the church of Justinian; and I apprehend that they who read the above outline of the very minute account left us of that church, will think that it does not deserve to be thrown on one side as "not very clear," and that it no more "borders on the fabulous" than the modern descriptions of it, which have been already referred to, to which it answers so exactly, that I am convinced that a comparison of the two descriptions will make the identity so clear, that it will be useless to insist on it. I would merely observe that the present buildings around the mosk are probably remains of the hospitals, modernised and debased, and that the (τέμενος) or sacred precincts, would afford space for the "many side buildings" which "very probably" formed the palace of the Frank kings, during their reign in Jerusalem; for I agree with Dr Ro-

¹ Bib. Res. ut sup.

binson in thinking that the buildings were once “more extensive than the present Mosk el-Aksa²,” for who that compares the account of the foundations of the enclosure of Justinian, with the description which has been given of the substructions at the south-east and south of the area of the haram, can suppose that it admits of a question that they are identical? Further, have we any right to presume that these vaults were “probably only repaired” by that emperor, and are to be referred “partly to Herod, or, with greater probability, to a still earlier date³,” without a hint from this, or any other historian, to imply that any such works existed here before⁴, and with the decided opinion of three intelligent architects, that they are all of the same date?

The gateway, however, demands further and distinct notice, because it is quite true that Josephus speaks of a gateway in the southern wall of the temple-court, and much such a gateway as this described by Procopius; for I must understand the writer to speak of a double gateway in the centre, and not, as the learned Lightfoot does⁵, of two gateways equally removed from the angles, and from each other: and if “there can be little question that this now existing is the ancient gate mentioned by Josephus, in the middle of the southern side of the temple-area⁶,” the Byzantine historian must have been ill informed, although he lived at the time, and writes as if he had accurately studied the subject.

But if Josephus is to be our guide—and I for one am ready to follow him implicitly—then this could not be the

² Bib. Res. i. p. 443.

³ Ibid. i. 451, 452.

⁴ Or rather I should say with this historian’s plain declaration against it; for it was altogether strange (παράδοξα καὶ ἄλλως ἀγνώστα). Procopius, de

Ædif. Just. Lib. v. ch. 6.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. xv. 14. “πύλας κατὰ μέσον.” See Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, cap. vi.

⁶ Bib. Res. i. 451.

gate which he mentions, for this simple reason, because this is so far from being "in the middle of the southern side," as that was, that it is almost one-third nearer to its western than to its eastern extremity, according to Dr Robinson's own showing¹. Instead then of presuming that "it may have been erected, or at least decorated by Herod, and perhaps *rebuilt* by Adrian, or *at the same time with the church under Justinian*²," I think it may safely be concluded that it owes its origin *altogether* to this last-named emperor; and is the very gateway mentioned by Procopius, supported by the two columns still standing, and formed an entrance, not to the Temple, but to the buildings erected by him in connexion with his Church of Saint Mary, or New Church, as it was designated by the natives³, "to the area of which there was an ascent by a flight of steps⁴," probably through this very corridor!

But the ruins at the south-west angle still remain, and if "this arch," as Dr Robinson imagines, "could only have belonged to THE BRIDGE, which, according to Josephus, led from [the south] part of the temple to the xystus on

¹ Thus: "The breadth at the south end is 955 feet," p. 419. The point in "the wall of the area of the great mosk south side," where this gate is found at the junction of the two walls, is "630 feet west of the south-east corner," p. 395; leaving only 325 feet, shewing a difference of 305 feet!

² p. 451.

³ I am really sorry that I cannot allow Mr Woolcott, who was so kind as to introduce me to this interesting relic, and for whom I have a very sincere esteem, to indulge his imagination any longer in these vaults; and the reader will sympathise with me, when he reads

the following passage: "As I walked through the broad aisles, in a stillness broken only by the sound of my own footsteps, it was a thrilling thought, that I was treading one of the avenues through which the tribes had passed to the temple. I seemed to see the throng of worshippers, and to hear their chant, 'I was glad,'" &c. Bibl. Sac. Pt. 1, p. 19. Is it not a pity that so much sentiment should be thrown away on imaginary sites connected with the Hebrew worship, and none at all reserved for Christian antiquities?

⁴ Bib. Res. 1. 440, and the references there in note 3.

Zion, . . . it proves incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs⁵;" in other words, that the ancient area must have extended as far south as the modern. Now I grant this fragment to exhibit distinct traces of an ancient arch; but must this arch necessarily have belonged to a bridge? is there no other means of accounting for its situation?

If it did belong to such a bridge as Dr Robinson supposes, it must have been a most stupendous work—350 feet in length, and at least 51 feet in width⁶—and composed of huge stones! stretching across the deep bed of the Tyropæon (still deep, though it "has doubtless been greatly filled up with rubbish") to the "abrupt precipice of rock, from 20 to 30 feet high, lying over against it⁷;" and it does seem to me quite inconceivable, that Josephus—generally so minute in detail—should pass over, without a word of description or admiration, such an astonishing performance, in the passages where the bridge is referred to; and that no traces of its western termination can be now discovered.

But there is a much greater difficulty in the way of the reception of this hypothesis, amounting in my mind to an absolute impossibility⁸. This ruin is nearly, if not quite,

⁵ Bib. Res. i. 425. Dr Robinson is very positive on the subject. He says again: "The existence of these remains of the ancient bridge seem to remove all doubt as to the identity of this part of the enclosure of the mosk with that of the ancient temple," p. 426. And again: "Here then we have indisputable remains of Jewish antiquity, consisting of an important portion of the western wall of the ancient temple-area. They are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to

the days of Herod!" 427. Lower down he refers them to *Solomon or his successors*, p. 427.

⁶ p. 425.

⁷ p. 390.

⁸ Bib. Res. i. 450. See his Plan from Mr Catherwood: according to which, "The distance from the south-east corner of the haram to the eastern wall of El-Aksa is about 475 feet; while from the same corner to the western side of the vaults now open to visitors is only about 320 feet." *Ib.* p. 448.

level with the present bed of the Tyropæon, on the east side of the valley; on the west side of which rises "the precipitous natural rock of Zion," "from 20 to 30 feet high," the present base of which stands on a steep ridge of at least an equal height above the bed of the valley¹. This ridge is now covered with prickly pears, and appears to be formed in great part from rubbish thrown down from the height above. Now whether "Solomon and his successors," or any others "at a period long antecedent to the days of Herod," could have constructed such an arched bridge as this must have been, which, springing from so low a level on the east, would reach the very much superior elevation on the west—I must leave it to architects or antiquaries to determine; I can only say, it must have been very unlike any bridge I ever saw, and must have looked exceedingly awkward; and some architects, it seems, "do not suppose arches were in use in the time of Solomon, however far back the mere invention of the arch may go²."

Can, then, any other account be given of these stupendous stones? and does their appearance agree in general character with any described by ancient historians, or by modern explorers? Perhaps the answer will have suggested itself already to the reader. The grand substructure already described from Procopius may help us to solve the difficulty. Dr Robinson himself is of opinion, that "the ranges of vaults," commencing from the east, "extended not im-

¹ I have really no wish to exaggerate; but I feel confident that the top of the perpendicular rock of Zion, on the west, can be little short of 80 feet higher than the spring-course of the arch on the east! Mr Bartlett's sketch opposite to p. 150 gives a very good idea of their relative height, but

the section *on* that page makes the bridge *level*, which would have landed the passengers in the Tyropæon, at the foot of the precipice!! How could an artist fail to see this?

² Catherwood, Bartlett's Walks, p. 178.

probably quite to the western wall of the enclosure, where are now said to be immense cisterns;" and I will not only allow him this, but further take liberty to join another arcade at the western extremity, in order to bring in that arch the ruins of which he has so accurately measured, and so ably described! And in this I shall be borne out by Mr Catherwood and his brother architects, who assign them all one date, and one general plan; and in some measure also by Mr Woolcott, who, in describing the colonnade under El-Aksa, adopts language which would as well apply to the fragment before us, had it been seen in a perfect state. "The arches are of hewn stone, and are the noblest I have seen in the country," and in the side walls were two stones "each thirteen feet in length, and bevelled³." He indeed concludes that these foundations are Jewish, and Dr Robinson is of opinion that the bevelled stones are a peculiarity of Hebrew architecture, but the architects saw no traces of Jewish masonry⁴ here, and are agreed in the fallacy of the last hypothesis, which I should have thought that no intelligent traveller could have long entertained⁵.

I think that a further objection to the Jewish origin of these substructures will be found in the silence of the Jewish historian. The stupendous works of Solomon which he mentions were on the east side, where no vaults have

³ Bib. Res. Pt. 1. pp. 19, 20. I have not the slightest doubt that the *ξύσαντες αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους* of Procopius refers to this very bevelling.

⁴ Mr Bonomi writes, "These noble substructions consist entirely of Roman arches of large dimensions and admirable workmanship, probably of the age of Herod." Bib. Res. 1. 447.

⁵ Bib. Res. 1. pp. 423, 424. Mr Catherwood says, "What proof of

antiquity is to be seen in this [i.e. bevelled stones] I am at loss to conjecture," 178. It has been seen above that he refers the passage to a Roman origin, and the same date as the vaults, the ruined arch, and the Golden Gate. But even granting a Jewish origin to the huge bevelled stones, why may they not have been taken from the old ruins to be used in later buildings?

been discovered—indeed, his language seems to imply that the space within the walls was filled up with earth¹: and since “no mention is made of Herod having had anything to do with massive walls of the exterior enclosure²,” and the works in question must be ascribed to the Roman period, it is evident that they must be posterior to the temple. And lastly, the very striking similarity, both in conception and execution, between the large vaults in the south-east angle of this enclosure and those immense cisterns which still exist at Constantinople,—a fact which I have not seen noticed,—do seem to me an unanswerable argument for the Byzantine origin of the former, and, with all due deference to professional men, I venture to express my conviction, that, independently of the surprising *historical coincidence*, there is no date to which their *architecture* could be referred with greater probability than to that of Justinian³.

One difficulty may occur to the minds of some readers, which demands consideration; it is this: What could induce this emperor to *hang* his church and hospitals *on the hill-side*, when the whole space of the temple-enclosure lay unoccupied close to the north of the appointed site? Now if I could suggest no solution of this difficulty, I do not think that it could be allowed to prevail against the clear testimony of Procopius, that thus they were built; but I

¹ Josephus, J. W. v. v. l.

² Bib. Res. p. 418. See again, pp. 427, 452. I am scarcely prepared altogether to admit this either. Josephus seems to say the contrary.

³ The cisterns at Constantinople I have seen and examined. The vaults at Jerusalem I judge of by Mr Catherwood's sketch (Bartlett's Walks, p.

170.) I could fancy it a view in the former were the columns round instead of square. This difference may perhaps be owing to old materials having been found ready at hand at Jerusalem, which would account for the *bevelling*, even if it did indicate Jewish masonry; as it does not.

trust I can offer an explanation which will be in great measure satisfactory. Let the denunciations of our Lord be considered⁴; let it be remembered that his words were not yet fully accomplished in the view of the Christians of those days, who were, as we shall presently see, looking for their *literal* verification by the gradual operation of the prophetic word. Was it likely that such an emperor as Justinian would venture to interfere with a site which would be connected with such awful associations in his mind and in the minds of his advisers? Besides which, the attempt of the apostate Julian to set up the ruins of former desolations in the spot which they had before occupied, had been so strangely visited⁵, that even if the predictions just mentioned had not been sufficient to deter from such encroachment, this example might well have led to the idea that the ground within the ancient enclosure was accursed.

It has been shown above that there is some reason to believe that the temple-area *did* extend to the northern limits of the haram—will it be granted that there is at least no irrefragable proof that it extended to the southern boundary of the same? that it is perhaps as possible that the Talmud may be right, as that this last conjecture is well grounded? as probable that an addition has been made at the south as at the north?

Let us next cut off from the south, as before from the north, such a space as will serve to square the width, as already determined by the two valleys to the east and west, and try the results.

The Golden Gate, which, according to the former theory, fell without the square⁶, will now be found *exactly in the*

⁴ See Matt. xxiv. 2; Luke xiii. 35; xix. 44.

⁵ See above, Pt. I. chap. iii.

⁶ See above, p. 329.

centre of the east side. That there was a gate to the east we know, not indeed from Josephus, but from the rabbies; and its name we know. It is supposed to be called "the King's Gate¹," in Holy Scripture, as the cloister in this quarter was designated "Solomon's Porch²," from being built on the stupendous foundations laid by that monarch.

But the architecture is Roman, supposed by an artist to be of the same date as the works which I have ascribed to Justinian³. I am in a fair way to be crushed beneath the weight of my own argument. That its architecture is decidedly Roman, I cannot hesitate to admit. But it is indisputably of the same period as the Roman remains on the south. Let it be remembered that this gateway is blocked up without, so that while its general character is sufficiently distinct, its details are in great measure concealed. "Its exterior . . . presents two archways of Roman character, resting on capitals of the same workmanship, filled up with Saracenic masonry, and presenting a singular piece of patch-work." So that it is quite obvious that we can but conjecture what it would be, "supposing this masonry were removed⁴." Under these circumstances I hope it will not be very presumptuous to suggest whether it may not belong to an earlier date than those other remains with which it has been associated, or whether its general agreement with them will be valid to overthrow the whole argument, which is not yet quite finished. I shall advance another step when I have endeavoured to ascertain the date of this gateway. It has been ascribed

¹ 1 Chron. ix. 18, and Lightfoot, "Prospect of the Temple," cap. iii. In later times it was called Shushan. He *thinks* it was *not* in the middle, but refers to no authority for its posi-

tion, nor am I aware that there is any.

² Lightfoot, *ubi sup.* cap. viii.

³ See above, p. 319, note 8.

⁴ Catherwood, *Walks*, pp. 171, 172, (with illustrations.)

by Dr Robinson to the Emperor Adrian, without any warrant, for it is not at all clear that he touched the outer enclosure, nor is any authority whatever pretended for it⁵. Mr Catherwood, as has been said, with much greater probability, supposes it to belong to the age of Herod⁶, but I would suggest whether it may not date from a period between the two, and have been constructed during the time of Agrippa, in whose days these extensive works about the temple were brought to a close, which had been rendered necessary by damages done to the buildings, when we know that the eastern cloisters materially suffered⁷, and which had occupied above 18,000 men for some years.

If we now cross over to the western side of the enclosure which we are examining, we are met with a singular fact. It will be remembered that in ancient times there were *four entrances* to the outer court from this quarter, "one leading into the upper city, the valley between being filled up for the passage, two into the suburbs, and one into the other city⁸." There are *now four gates* on this side of the haram⁹. The southernmost of these is approached by a *causeway* carried across the valley of the Tyropæon. And I have no doubt whatever that this same causeway is to be understood in those passages of Josephus where "the bridge" is mentioned; and that having in that passage, already so frequently quoted, explained what kind of bridge it was, he used the best word he could find to describe it in other passages where he had occasion to speak of it, rather than interrupt his narrative by a long peri-

⁵ Bib. Res. i. 437 and 477.

⁶ See above, p. 319. n. 8.

⁷ See Josephus, Ant. xvii. x. 2, and Jewish War, ii. iii. 3; and com-

pare xx. ix. 7.

⁸ See above, p. 274.

⁹ Catherwood, Walks, p. 165. Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. i. p. 421.

phrasis, which this precaution had rendered unnecessary. But it will be well to examine the passages more closely.

The bridge is first mentioned in the account of Pompey's operations at Jerusalem. Before that general entered the city, Aristobulus and his party had "seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which stretched from it to the city, and prepared for a siege¹." The Romans were then forced to proceed again regularly to the siege of the temple on the north; "the part towards the city being rendered precipitous by the interruption of the bridge²." Notwithstanding the ambiguity of the original, it seems to be fairly deducible from this passage that the bridge was on the west or city side; but this is all we gather from this context. In the next passage its position is most clearly given in describing the situation of Agrippa's Palace, called the House of the Asmonæans. "This house," he says, "was above the xystus, at the extremity of the upper city, and a bridge joined the temple to the xystus³." Subsequently we learn that it was at the southern part of the outer temple, where was a gate opening on the bridge; and elsewhere the xystus and the bridge and the tower of Simon are brought together⁴. This tower of Simon was probably part of "the

¹ τὸ ἱερόν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔκκοψαν εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. Ant. xiv. iv. 1. Compare B. J. i. vii. εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἀνεχώρει καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες, κ. τ. λ.

² ἀπεβρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῆς γέφυρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε Πομπήϊος. Ant. ut sup. The meaning of the last four words is very obscure. Hudson's translation has "interrupto ponte quâ parte dege-

bat Pompeius," which is not very intelligible; Whiston has "the bridge on which Pompey had gotten was broken down." Does he use "had" for "would have"? In any case it does not give the sense of the original.

³ Bell. Jud. ii. xvi. 3. "αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς αἰῶς πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερόν συνῆπτεν." The xystus, as is plain from the context, was a place for public assemblies.

⁴ Ἰστατο κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύοιν μέρος

house of the Asmonæans," but whether or no, it is certain that this last-named palace was above the xystus, at the western extremity of the bridge that led to the temple from the upper city. But the passage from the southern part of the temple to the palace on Zion was formed *by the filling up of the valley*⁵, or by the causeway, as it is called in Scripture⁶, terminating in the gate Shallecheth, the gate of the Embankment, according to Lightfoot⁷. Therefore the bridge and the causeway are identical. Again, the north wall of Zion, as it approached the temple, passed the xystus, and was joined to the council-chamber⁸, so that it must have run in the same line with the bridge, which also joined the xystus. But it is surely very unlikely, to say the least, that this old wall, besides making an angle, contrary to the words of Josephus⁹, should be carried down a precipitous rock of 20 or 30 feet, as it must have been had it crossed the valley near Dr Robinson's bridge, (where the xystus must have stood, if his view be correct,) unless indeed it was carried over, or rather *down the bridge*, which perhaps, as it was composed of such very large stones, might have borne it; but then it would have been

τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ. ταύτη γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν
ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συν-
άπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν." B. J. VI. vi. 2. κατὰ τὸν ξυστὸν ἐξ
οὗ καὶ τὴν γεφύραν καὶ τὸν Σιμῶνος
πύργον, κ.τ.λ.; *ibid.* viii. 1.

⁵ τῆς φάραγγος εἰς διόδον ἀπειλημ-
μένης." See above, p. 274. n. 1.

⁶ See 1 Kings x. 5, עֲלֵת. Nehe-
miah iii. 31. עֲלֵת.

⁷ See above, p. 274, note 3, and 1
Chron. xxvi. 16. שַׁעַר שְׁלֵחֶת

בְּמִסְלָה הָעֹלָה

⁸ See above, Pt. I. chap. iii. It is perhaps worth remarking that the Mekhemè, or Cadi's Office, the modern βουλῇ or βουλευτήριον of Jerusalem, stands at the extremity of this causeway, nearest the haram. The site of Antonia and of the palace of Herod—the garrison of the Roman legion left there by Titus—are now occupied by the Turkish garrison. The coincidences are singular.

⁹ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρε-
τίζετο. De Bell. Jud. v. iv. 2.

most manifestly inconvenient as well as very difficult to cut off such a bridge; and the silence of Josephus would be still more unaccountable, as the work must have been far more worthy of our admiration than any which he has mentioned. It is beyond belief that he should, neither in his account of the first wall, nor in any mention of the bridge—(not even of its being cut off)—relate the wonderful fact of the wall being carried across it for 360 feet, or down such a precipice, if such was really the case.

The old wall must have crossed the Tyropæon, even according to Dr Robinson's idea of the direction of the latter¹. What can be more likely than that it was carried along the causeway? but how then could the passage be cut off? Is it not conceivable that, with a view to the fortification of the temple, the Jews might contrive to cut a deep trench in the embankment, passable in peaceful times by what would answer the purpose of a drawbridge in modern warfare, or at least by some contrivance short of Cyclopean architecture, and that the wall was carried by a single arch over this chasm? This would reconcile all the passages in which *the bridge* is mentioned, and satisfy the strictest sense of the word in our language; but I consider it much more likely that there was no literal bridge at all, but that the communication was "*cut off*" (ἐκκοψαν, ἀποκόψαντες,) or interrupted (ἀνατετραμμένης), for the occasion, by a detachment of Jewish *engineers*.

But now would this causeway have joined the temple-enclosure at all, seeing we have contracted the latter towards the south? Or shall we not be in the same predicament with this gate Shallecheth, as with the Golden Gate ac-

¹ It ran eastward along the northern brow of Zion, and so *across the valley* | to the western side of the temple-area. Bib. Res. i. p. 439.

cording to the other hypothesis? Not in any view. The exact square would give us for the area 955 feet towards the south, from the rocky angle at the north-west; the latest plan² gives the distance from this point to the causeway as exactly 900 feet. But I can afford to be liberal, and will therefore state that in Dr Robinson's Plan the distance is very nearly 1000 feet. If the kind reader thinks I have been too generous, and that my theory is in danger, he may be quite comfortable. It is demonstrable that the temple did extend further north and south than it did east and west; unless Dr Robinson and all other writers are mistaken, who reckon the rabbinical square *within* the porticoes³. Let it be observed, that *on the south* of the temple-area was the Royal Porch of Herod the Great. This differed from the other cloisters in this, that whereas they were composed of a double piazza of 30 cubits width, this was a treble colonnade, in which the side aisles were the usual width of 15 cubits⁴ each, while the centre had an additional width of $42\frac{1}{2}$ cubits over and above the other three sides. Taking then the cubit of Josephus, as I have done throughout, at a foot and a half, we shall have $63\frac{3}{4}$ feet to add to the south of the area, which will give us $1018\frac{3}{4}$ feet, leaving 18 feet to the south of the causeway, according to this most unfavourable calculation.

But if not for my own sake, yet for the poor Jews, I would prefer to take the former statement, in order to bring in their "Wailing-place," a little more to the south. Not but that it is quite possible (considering how long they were pro-

² Mr Bartlett's Walks, p. 55. Mr Catherwood's Plan makes it about 950. Considering his superior advantages it would be perhaps safer always to follow his measures about the haram.

³ Bib. Res. I. p. 430, l. See above, pp. 324-5.

⁴ Joseph. Ant. xv. iv. Light-foot's Prospect of the Temple, cap. viii.

hibited access to the Holy City) that they may be mistaken in ascribing to these stones, in their present situation, such high antiquity; but yet I think it is not improbable that they do water with their tears the stones that formed the south-west angle of their fathers' temple¹.

I hope I do not forget that theorists are in great danger of being blinded to difficulties which are very obvious to others, when I say that I am not aware of more than one serious objection to this hypothesis. Lightfoot tells us, from the rabbies, that the Holy House occupied the northern part of the sacred enclosure²; but admitting that it occupied the site of the present mosk, and that the bounds of the area have now been rightly determined, it must have been much to the south. Now I will not seek to evade the difficulty by moving the temple further north, because I firmly believe that es-Sakhrah (the Rock) does mark the site of the Most Holy Place, as Christians, Jews, and Mahommedans, all agree. If the authority of this one rabbi be so weighty (of which I am not competent to judge) as to overbear all the arguments which have been here adduced, I must give up the point; and I shall do so with the greater grief, because I cannot fall back on the old theory, since the passage in question militates against that with equal force; for not only does he say that "the greatest space of the mount was on the south," but he adds, "the least westward," while obviously, according to Dr Robinson, the least would be on the north, if the other story of *the square* be at all correct.

¹ It is difficult to state the exact distance of these stones from the north or south extremity. But Dr Robinson, in the two passages where he mentions them, says only that they are "con-

siderably south of the middle" of the area on the west. Bib. Res. i. pp. 350, 425. They are just south of the causeway, below, in the valley.

² Prospect of the Temple, cap. iii.

I will venture then to suggest a solution with much deference. The rabbies all with one voice place Zion north of the temple, at least so says Lightfoot, who has suffered himself to be misled by them³. If all err on a point of such importance in the topography of the Holy City, it is possible that *one* may be inaccurate on another. Perhaps even the mistaken position of the Holy House was grounded on the truth that it stood *nearest* to Mount Zion, and proceeded on the error that Zion lay to the north. If this be anything more than fancy, the correction of the first error would turn all in my favour. Thus, the Holy House lay more towards Zion, but Zion was to the south, therefore the Holy House lay more to the south; and that it was so situated, would seem very likely from a passage in Josephus, where he says, that in the course of enlarging the temple-area they moved back the *wall on the north*⁴, which would of course add to the space in that quarter; while the very nature of the ground would confirm this view, since it would be much more simple to extend the area northward, where it was comparatively plane, than southward, where was a deep declivity.

It may be some recommendation to the view here given, and be thought to entitle it to some consideration, if I state that after revolving the subject in my mind at intervals for nearly three years, with such advantages as an exact knowledge of the localities could not fail to afford, I have been able to reconcile the various facts of history and topography only by this theory: but I had no idea of the strength of the argument until I came to test it in this chapter. To myself it appears so convincing, that I marvel

³ Prospect of the Temple, cap. v. et alibi passim.

⁴ διακόψαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσάρκ-

τιον τεῖχος, τοσούτου προσέλαβον ὅσον ὑστερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ τοῦ παντός ἱεροῦ περίβολος. Bell. Jud. v. v. 1.

that it was not obvious at once; but the statement of Mr Catherwood, and the perusal of the chapter in Procopius, were the two keys which opened to me the whole subject.

I proceed now to the Antonia. To collect the scattered notices of Josephus may serve a good purpose, and assist future travellers in their investigations of this interesting subject.

This historian does not mention the original builder of this tower, but refers it generally to the Asmonean princes. Its original name was *Baris*¹; until Herod, having greatly enlarged and beautified it, changed its name to Antonia, in honour of his friend Mark Antony². It combined the strength of a castle³ with the magnificence of a palace, and was like a city in extent;—comprehending within its walls not only spacious apartments, but courts, and even camping grounds for soldiers. It was situated on an elevated rock, to the north of the temple-enclosure, or more strictly to the north-west, with four towers at its angles, of which that to the south-east was the highest, and commanded a view of the whole temple. It communicated with the northern and western cloisters of the temple, at the angle of the area, by flights of steps for the convenience of the garrison⁴; being the fortress of the temple, as the temple was of the

¹ Of this name Prideaux says, “It was called *Baris*, from *Birah*, which word among the eastern nations signifies a palace or royal city; and in this sense it is often used in those scriptures of the Old Testament which were written after the Babylonish captivity, as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther, which shews it to have been borrowed from the Chaldeans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language.” *ubi sup.*

² Ant. xv. xi. 3. Bell. Jud. i. iii.

3; v. 4; v. v. 8. Prideaux (in ann. 107) after Lightfoot, and both professing to follow Josephus, ascribe it to Hyrcanus, the son of Simon; but I cannot find any warrant for this. Lightfoot's reference, copied by Prideaux, is wrong, as usual.

³ It is commonly called *φρούριον* in Josephus, but elsewhere *ἀκρόπολις*, Ant. xv. xi. 4: in Holy Scripture, *παρεμβολή*. Acts xxi. 34, 37; xxii. 24.

⁴ *καταβάσεις* in Josephus. *ἀναβαθμὸν*, Acts xxi. 35, 40. It was by

city. It was defended towards Bezetha by a deep trench, so as to prevent its foundations from being assailed in that quarter. The temple-enclosure, which was of itself 4 stadia in circuit, was 6 stadia including Antonia⁵. Thus much we have by way of description. From incidental allusions we gather a few more particulars, which it will be useful at least to note⁶. Titus had hoped that if he made himself master of this commanding post, he should gain the temple without more fighting; and when he had carried it, some of his soldiers did actually chase the Jews into the enclosure of the temple⁷. Yet for all this he had still to make regular advances against the outer enclosure⁸. When in occupation of Antonia, and during the time that these operations were going forward, he would watch their proceedings from the tower⁹.

Now to endeavour to get some light from these various hints. I presume, first of all, that Baris or Antonia occupied a position near to the site of that tower which Antiochus Epiphanes built in Jerusalem, overhanging and commanding the temple¹⁰, and that the Baris or Antonia of the Jewish War is equivalent to the Acra of the Antiquities and of the Maccabees, by which name that tower built by Antiochus is always designated¹¹; and that it was this fortress which gave its name to the hill on which it stood, and to that part of the city which surrounded it on three sides¹². It is no valid objection to this hypothesis that the

these stairs that the chief captain had descended to the court of the temple, to rescue St Paul, verse 32.

⁵ Compare Ant. xv. xi. 3, with Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.

⁶ Bell. Jud. v. vi. 2; vi. i. 5.

⁷ vi. i. 7, 8.

⁸ ii. 7.

⁹ vi. ii. 5; iii. 1.

¹⁰ Joseph. Ant. xii. vii.

¹¹ I think this word *ἀκρα* must occur fifty times in the book of Maccabees, always applied to this tower.

¹² I am glad to find that Reland is of this opinion also. Sub voce *Jerusalem*.

tower is said, in the book of Maccabees, to have stood in the city of David¹; for it is very uncertain what part of the city is to be understood by that term in the book of Maccabees, while it is manifest that the temple-mount is perpetually called "Mount Zion²;" and this tower is expressly said to have stood on the "*hill of the temple*³." Besides, Josephus, whose language is probably more accurate, distinctly says that this tower was in the lower city, on a high place which overlooked the temple⁴; nor can any other position so well reconcile all we read concerning the annoyance occasioned to the Jews by the occupation of this tower by a Macedonian garrison⁵.

But it may be objected that this tower was demolished by Simon, and the very hill on which it stood was levelled⁶. So Josephus says, but the author of the book of Maccabees gives an entirely different account. According to this earlier writer, Simon was so far from destroying the tower, that after he had taken it by blockade, and entered it in triumph, and purified it of its pollutions, "he made it stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his

¹ 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; xiv. 36.

² 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vi. 48, 61. Dr Robinson has erred from not remarking this, and supposes that the book of Maccabees places their fortress on Zion, which it does not.

³ xlii. 52.

⁴ Ant. xii. v. 4. τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ὑπεκείμενην τῷ ἱερῷ, κ. τ. λ.

⁵ e. g. "It was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary." 1 Macc. i. 36. Judas while purging the sanctuary was obliged to detach a party to keep them in check, iv. 41. See again, vi. 18, and xiv. 36.

⁶ This passage, which is entirely mistranslated by the very inaccurate Whiston, runs thus in the original: ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν...ἄκραν, εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθέλειν.....καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας, ἀριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καθέλειν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ἢ τὸ ἱερὸν.....καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθήρουν τὸ ὄρος.....καὶ κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἀπάντων (αἱ. ἅπαν) τὸ ἱερὸν, τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν ἀνηρμένων. Ant. xiii. vi. 6.

company⁷." I do not think that these two accounts are irreconcilable. It appears very likely that the scarping of the rock at the north-west of the haram, and the cutting it perpendicular at that angle to the depth of 20 feet, is to be referred to this time⁸; so that the rock in question, which rose perhaps higher than its present level in the direction of the temple, was much reduced; for the labour of so many willing workmen, engaged incessantly night and day for three years and a half, must have accomplished a work of considerable magnitude. Probably some buildings on the northern quarter of the tower were left standing, or if not, a fortress was soon erected there in which Simon dwelt, and which was afterwards occupied by Aristobulus⁹, and used as a state prison by Alexandra¹⁰. It served now as a garrison for the Jewish troops, yet was so contrived as to be a defence to them in time of war, by cutting off the communication with the temple. Two flights of steps led down from the height of the precipice to the cloisters below; by destroying that part of the cloisters connected with the stair-case the approach was cut off. And this was done on two occasions: first, when Florus was intending to possess himself of the temple through Antonia, the Jews, we read, immediately got upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and

⁷ 1 Macc. xiii. 52. Compare xiv. 37. "He placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and of the city." Josephus, Ant. XIII. vi. 7.

⁸ Josephus says of Antonia, "δε-
δόμητο δ' ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπή-
χους μὲν ὕψος περικρήνου δὲ πάσης."
J. W. v. v. 8. I think Prideaux must
be right, when he says: "These 50

cubits are not to be understood of the side next the temple, but of the other sides off from it, upon the brow of the mountain, on which the temple stood, where this rock, from the valley beneath up to the top whereon the castle was built, was 50 cubits high." Connex. (ann. 107, note.)

⁹ Joseph. J. W. i. iii. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. v. 4.

cut them down; and as soon as the cloisters were broken down he gave up the attempt. The second occasion was that already referred to. Titus did not reckon upon such an obstinate defence of the Jews, and did not expect that they would have recourse to such expedients as burning their temple. When he took Antonia, the Romans pursued the Jews down the steps by which they had retreated to the temple, and the battle was continued there for several successive days¹, until the Jews, with desperate resolution, "set fire to the north-west cloister which was joined to the tower of Antonia, and afterwards broke off 20 cubits more of that cloister², nor ceased from the work of demolition until the tower was parted from the temple. When this was done, nothing remained but to form an inclined plane down the precipice by overthrowing the massive foundations of the tower, while the works were pressed forward on other quarters of the outer area³.

It would seem probable that a greater part of the fortress was attached to the northern than to the western side of the area, not only from the present appearance of the rock which extends, I believe, much further on the north than on the west side of the angle, but also from the language of Josephus, who generally speaks of its situation as at the north⁴, although in some passages he is more definite⁵. I imagine then that the Antonia extended about as far east as the present seraglio, about 400 feet further *west* than the western boundary of the haram, and covered a hill which rises in this quarter, and is probably part of the same rock⁶;

¹ See J. W. vi. i. 7, 8.

² Ibid. vi. ii. 9.

³ See above, Part I. cap. ii.

⁴ Ant. xv. xi. 4: κατὰ τὴν βορείου πλευράν. J. W. i. xxi. 1: τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούριον.

⁵ κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τὸ τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον. J. W. v. v. 8.

⁶ If instead of following the Via Dolorosa at this point, the traveller

while northward it crossed the present Via Dolorosa, embracing the "Arch of the Ecce Homo," and the "Church of the Flagellation," and probably reached even so far as the "Palace of Herod;" and it is an interesting fact that, without any thought whatever of these traditionary sites in laying out my plan, having regard simply and solely to the language of the Jewish historian, I was absolutely compelled to include them. With regard to the fosse, I fear that cannot be discovered; but more will be said of this when I come to speak of the waters of Jerusalem.

I shall have done with Antonia when I have merely noticed one remark of Josephus, which is to me wholly unintelligible on every hypothesis, but which I dare say has some satisfactory meaning. In speaking of the prodigies which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he mentions that the "Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square; while they had it written in their sacred oracles, that then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square⁷." To what oracle or to what act of the Jews this most perplexing observation relates I am entirely at a loss to imagine; for we read nothing of their demolishing the tower of Antonia during the siege, nor can I comprehend how this could have made the temple four-square. One remark suggests itself, which may serve as a solution, unless some future writer should be more successful in finding a satisfactory explanation for this mysterious passage.

This remark is introduced by the historian after the description of the burning of the cloisters connected with

coming from the west takes a small street which continues in the same line towards the area of the mosk, he rises

by a very steep ascent to the hill mentioned in the text.

⁷ Ibid. vi. v. 4.

the Antonia, which however did not completely break off the fortress from the temple; the Jews still continued for some longer time the work of burning and demolition, until this was effected. From this it would appear that it was a work of difficulty to disconnect the two, which it would have been if part of the fortress was built into the temple-square at the angle where they were joined. The stairs descending into the cloisters must necessarily have been projected into the enclosure, and possibly guard-rooms and other chambers for the troops. If this were so, the destruction of that portion of the castle would have the effect described by Josephus of making the area a complete square, which had been before interrupted by this projection; and this is the only possible method which I can imagine for the elucidation of his language, which does appear to me to be in general most remarkably accurate.

And this will, I think, be further seen, if before taking leave of the subject which has been discussed in this chapter, we consider another expression which has sometimes been much misunderstood. After his account of the western gates of the temple-enclosure, with which the reader will be by this time familiar, he remarks "that the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre¹." Now if we suppose that he spoke of the general appearance of the city and temple as they existed in his time rather than in Herod's, no comparison could possibly be more happy, as a glance at the plan will shew. Let the form of an ancient theatre be remembered, let the temple-area be regarded as the stage—the city surrounding it on three sides as the tiers of seats for spectators, sloping down from all quarters (except the south) in the direction of

¹ ἀντικρὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεατροειδὲς οὔσα. Ant. xv. xi. 5.

the temple. Bezetha on the north—Acra on the north-west—then the eastern declivity of the Tyropæon to the west—separating between Acra and the upper city or Zion on the south-west, and the space filled up by the ridge of Ophel to the south. The exactness of the language in this as in other passages is to me perfectly astonishing, and I do think that this author, to whom the christian church is perhaps more largely indebted than to any unbelieving historian, has not been appreciated as he deserves; I am convinced that, in almost every case where he has been charged with mis-statement, our ignorance rather than his knowledge is in fault. With fair allowance for oriental hyperbole in his descriptive accounts of works of art rather than of nature, he is, as far as my experience goes, a most invaluable guide.

Before concluding this chapter I would remark on an objection which some devout minds may possibly feel to a theory which would go to prove that any part of the ancient temple can still be identified. Such an hypothesis may be thought to interfere with the predictions of our blessed Lord, which have been already referred to, and therefore the objection deserves, as do all objections prompted by reverence, the most tender consideration; and I would hope that the following beautiful passage from Eusebius on this very subject, will serve to allay any undue apprehensions, and to set the matter in its true light.

Having discoursed on the words “Behold, your house is left unto you desolate²,” on which he remarks that “it is right that we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation” as shortly followed this denunciation;

² Luke xiii. 35.

and that "to those who visit these places the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the predictions;" he thus proceeds to notice another prophecy of our Lord: "Walking by the side of the temple, and his disciples pointing out to him the greatness and beauty of the same, He answered and said, 'Behold, see ye not all these things? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone which shall not be thrown down'.¹ The Scriptures do moreover shew that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the temple were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous; and for proof of this there are preserved to this time some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But of these ancient things the greatest miracle of all is the divine word, declaring the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully announced to those who were wondering at the buildings the judgment that 'there should not be left,' in the place at which they were wondering, 'one stone upon another which should not be rased.' For it was right that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of the inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And just as the prediction was are the results in fact remaining: the whole temple and its walls, as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description, having suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too this increases; and so has the power of the word gone on destroying, that in many places no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it may see with his own eyes. And should any one say that a few of the places are still existing, we may nevertheless

¹ Matth. xxiv. 2.

justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing; the prophetic word daily operating by a power which is unknown. I know too (for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage differently) that this was not said on all the buildings, but only on that place which the disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to him: for it was upon this that He spoke the prophetic word²." Thus far Eusebius. For myself I look for the accomplishment of the prophecy in its widest and most literal sense; and expect that if there be still one stone left upon another, which at least is not certain, the mighty though silent operation of that wonder-working word will in due time bring it down: and who can tell whether, before the time of the end, some second Julian may not renew the attempt to rebuild the Jewish temple, which antichrist alone shall rear³, and whether this attempt may not result in the destruction of such portions of it as remain?

² Theoph. B. iv. c. 18. Lee's Trans.

³ St Cyril foretold the defeat of

Julian's attempt, from his interpretation of 2 Thess. ii. 4.



The Golden Gate.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TEMPLE-AREA.

I HAVE followed Dr Robinson's measurements, as far as possible, throughout the foregoing chapter, both because he appears to have taken much pains with them, and because it was chiefly his theory with which I had to deal, and it therefore seemed right to take him on his own ground. But that writer has been called upon, among other corrections of greater consequence, to alter his measurements of the south wall of the haram. This he has done in a magazine of which he is the editor¹; but as the *Biblical Researches* are in the hands of many who may probably never see the American periodical, it would have been obviously inconvenient to adopt its corrections throughout the discussion: and they are noticed here rather to prevent cavil, than for their intrinsic value.

It appears that "the original pencil notes of the author" of the *Biblical Researches* make the distance from the south-east angle of the haram to the right angle formed by the junction of the city wall with that of the haram on the south side, "570 feet instead of 630 feet, as stated in the *Researches*;" and that "Messrs. Woolcott and Tipping found it, on careful measurement, to be 550 feet; and further, by like measurement both within and without the city, they ascertained that the whole length of the southern wall of the haram, as nearly as it can be measured, is 915 feet, instead of 955 feet, as given by Professor Robinson, making a difference of 40 feet.

The consequences of these corrections—supposing them so indeed—will be, *first*, that the rabbinical specification, as above given, will exceed this measurement by 50 feet instead of 10 only; and *next*, that the double gateway will have 550 feet of the wall to the east instead of 630, and 365 feet to the west, instead of 325, as by the former calculation. But even thus it will not answer to the account given by Josephus of the gate to the south of the outer temple, that was in the middle, and this will still have 185 feet more on one side than on the other: while the former variation will tend further to prove, what I have endeavoured to establish, that the temple-area could not have extended so far in this direction, the breadth here being too contracted to agree with the rabbinical com-

¹ See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Part 1. p. 23, and compare *Bib. Res.* i. 395.

putation as determined by the opposite valleys (which, it will be observed, converge rapidly as they approach the south) and must therefore be measured more towards the north, where the valleys are further apart, or even along the northern wall of the present haram, where "the breadth is some yards greater than on the south²."

Thus then if these corrections in any way affect the hypothesis of the preceding chapter, they will only tend to confirm it; how they "will help Dr Robinson's argument," as Mr Woolcott has remarked, I am at a loss to conjecture.

When I suggested above a reason for supposing that the site of Solomon's temple had been neglected by the Christians prior to the Saracenic conquest, I was not aware that the uniform testimony of all writers, Christian and infidel, might be quoted for *the fact*, and that one of the former had stated *the very same reasons*. Not only have we no mention of any Christian church having occupied the site of Solomon's temple, (which might itself be considered decisive evidence against it, considering how distinct are the notices of the churches of Jerusalem during the Christian period,) but all authors agree in declaring that on the capture of the sacred city by the khalif Omar, the sacred rock was covered with filth, which he himself began to clear away³. But the language of Euty chius, patriarch of Alexandria, concerning the *cause* of this neglect, is very remarkable. He says⁴, "When the Greeks embraced the Christian faith, Helena the mother of Constantine built churches at Jerusalem. But the Sakhrah and the parts about it were then covered with ruins, and were so left. Indeed they had cast earth on the rock, so that it became a large dunghill, and was altogether neglected by the Greeks, who did not reverence it as the Jews had done. *Neither did they build any church upon it; because our Lord Christ had said in the Holy Gospel, 'Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate;'* and again, 'There

² Bib. Res. i. 419. Mr Catherwood gives the southern wall 940 feet, and the northern 1020 feet. Bartlett's Walks, p. 174. He probably measured within the court. If so, his number at the south would so nearly agree with Dr Robinson's, allowing ten feet for the walls, that I could hardly doubt the accuracy of the professor, notwithstanding the joint testimony of Messrs. Woolcott and Tipping.

³ See above, Part i. cap. 4, Capture of Jerusalem by Omar, and for a collection of the Mahometan traditions, see History of the Temple at Jerusalem, pp. 175, &c., also Elmacinus, Hist. Sarac. p. 28, Lugd. Bat. 1625. William of Tyre, Hist. i. ii. p. 630.

⁴ Euty chii Annales, Arab. and Lat. Oxford, 1658, 4to. Vol. II. pp. 286, 289.

shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be cast down and laid waste.' *On this account the Christians had left it in ruins, and had built no church upon it.*"

This direct testimony in confirmation of the antecedent probability, will, I trust, serve to corroborate the view above given, viz. that the church and hospitals of Justinian were built entirely without the enclosure of the ancient temple, and consequently that the present boundary of the haram to the north must be identical with that of the temple-area in this quarter. And it is surely a strange and improbable hypothesis of Dr Robinson, which should have been noticed before, that in the enclosure, as restored by Adrian, "the former area of the fortress Antonia might have been included quite to the deep fosse, as it exists at present; while perhaps a portion of the southern part of the ancient area was left out"¹; for there is no historical evidence whatever for the restoration of the outer walls of the area at that time; and if there had been, we might still have required some probable reasons to explain this new arrangement. But the premises have been fully considered already, and shewn to be untenable; and the position of the Golden Gate, which seems to have given rise to the conjecture, has been also explained.

¹ Bib. Res. i. 438; compare p. 440, and n. 1.



The Cave of St. James.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES WITHOUT THE CITY.

THE object proposed in the present chapter is an elucidation of some antiquities chiefly without the walls of Jerusalem; for which object I shall beg the reader to accompany me first to the mount of Olives, and then descending again into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to make the circuit of the city, following as nearly as possible the course of Titus' wall of circumvallation, and pausing at such objects of interest as occur in the way.

Leaving the tower of Antonia, which was examined in the last chapter, and passing for the present without notice the large reservoir under the northern wall of the haram,

commonly known as the pool of Bethesda—a tradition which must be reserved for after consideration—we quit the city by the gate of “our Lady Mary”, (Bab Sitty Miriâm) as the natives term it, more commonly known to the Franks as the St Stephen’s Gate.

It is an unhappy circumstance that the site of the proto-martyr’s suffering was found for many years without the *Damascus* Gate, because, but for this fact there would be little difficulty in fixing it to the neighbourhood of this, which now bears his name: since it is obviously more probable that in a popular tumult he would be thrust out at the nearest gate, and not conducted through a great part of the city. The accusation and apology took place in the temple; the martyr was no doubt hurried through the eastern gate, and forthwith stoned. But it is utterly impossible to evade the fact of a change in the tradition, as Quaresmius has attempted to do¹: and what is more provoking is that the empress Eudoxia had erected a large church to the memory of this saint, at the supposed place of his martyrdom, without the Damascus Gate, as early as the fifth century, which was standing when the crusaders beleaguered the city at the close of the eleventh century.

Descending now into the Valley of Jehoshaphat by a zig-zag path of steps down the steep declivity, the dry bed of the torrent Kedron is passed by a bridge of one arch, a few paces beyond which is the chapel of St Mary on the left, and the garden of Gethsemane on the right², between

¹ See Dr Robinson’s Biblical Res. i. pp. 475, 6.

² The reader will, I trust, excuse my saying anything on the subject of this garden in such a work as the present. One who has *felt* some lines in the

“Christian Year” (3rd Sunday in Advent and Monday before Easter) on the very spot, will be pardoned for considering it too solemn a subject for scepticism or controversy. Should it be felt that the same remark would apply

which the most direct path ascends to the church of the Ascension which crowns the centre of the three summits of the mount Olivet, 2400 feet above the level of the Mediterranean sea.

The tradition which marks this as the scene of the last act of our Saviour's earthly ministry, has lately sustained a severe attack, and has been defended with great ability. I will endeavour to exhibit impartially the present state of the question, and will subjoin one or two remarks which may perhaps assist to its further elucidation.

It has been urged then, with much vehemence, that whatever may become of other traditions relating to the sacred events transacted in and about Jerusalem, this tradition at least "is unquestionably false; since it is contradicted by the express declaration of Scripture³," which states that "Jesus led out his disciples as far as to Bethany, and blessed them, and while he blessed them, he was parted from them and carried up into heaven⁴:" whereas the summit of mount Olivet is scarcely half-way between Jerusalem and Bethany.

To this it is replied⁵, that St Luke elsewhere, in the

almost with equal force to other localities, my only defence is that the vindication of the ancient church seems to require that some notice should be taken of the objections which have been raised to her most venerable traditions. It may however be allowed to notice one argument against the antiquity claimed for the olive-trees in the garden. It is urged that Titus cut down all the trees about Jerusalem. Josephus does not say so. The trees to the north of the city were cut down, (J. W. v. iii. 2), the others only stripped of their branches, (ibid. vi. viii. 1.) It is singular that travellers—ap-

parently without any thought of this—have remarked on "the disproportionate hugeness of their venerable trunks to the thin foliage above." Bartlett's Walks, p. 105.

³ Bib. Res. i. 375; II. 77.

⁴ Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

⁵ Essay on Miracles (prefixed to Vol. i. of Mr Newman's translation of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History), p. clvii. note g. and an additional note at the end. On the argument of this last, however, and the reply to it, it does not seem necessary to remark, for reasons which will appear in the sequel.

Acts of the Apostles, after recording the ascension, declares that the disciples returned from mount Olivet, "which is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey¹:" that a tradition cannot be said to *contradict* Scripture, "which does but take one text instead of another," and contradict a point of Jewish antiquities, viz. the length of a sabbatical journey: that if the church of the Ascension *falls short* of the distance specified, the village of Bethany *exceeds* it, according to the most probable computations: that the theory of Bethany being the name not only of the village, but of a district which extended over a portion of Olivet, reconciles the two texts: whereas to deny that our Lord ascended from Olivet is to run counter to the obvious meaning of one of them: and that this theory has the authority of Lightfoot and many others.

The main answer accorded to these arguments is², that "all this exhibits the skilful controversialist, rather than the experienced and candid interpreter of Scripture," and "seems to be little more than a mistaken endeavour to bend the truth of the gospel for the support of a legend of the church," and the site is declared, with greater assurance than before, to be "unquestionably, *prima facie*, wrong," and "in contradiction to the express statement of Scripture," and "the testimony of Scripture is conclusive that tradition in this case had selected a wrong spot."

Yet the candid reader may be disposed to think that the defence does deserve something better than such treatment; and he will perhaps be confirmed in this opinion on finding that some such explanation is absolutely necessary to reconcile other seemingly conflicting passages of Holy Scripture, on a subject not at all connected with this question.

¹ Acts i. 12.

² Biblioth. Sac. Vol. I. p. 177, et seq.



VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE MT. POLITEIA
From the interior of the City

But before proceeding to this, it may be well briefly to state what it is that invests this question with its chief importance, and makes this tradition so prominent an object of attack and defence. It is this : before the Holy Sepulchre had emerged from the obscurity in which it had been involved by the efforts of the church's enemies, while the idol fane as yet excited the horror and forbade the devotions of the pious pilgrims, the place of the Ascension on Mount Olivet was even then regarded with veneration, and there can be no room for doubt that the munificence of St Helena did in this case only perpetuate the existing tradition. But if it can be proved that this tradition, whose origin is lost in the antiquity of the Ante-Nicene period, is palpably false, this fact will serve greatly to weaken the force of traditionary evidence in general, and of that relating to the Holy Sepulchre in particular, which it is assumed only dates back to the time of Constantine³. The grounds of this last assumption have been already examined ; a word may here be said on the *a priori* argument.

If it be entitled to any weight, may it not with equal fairness be pleaded in behalf of the church as against it ? If it should appear that the impugnors of these ancient traditions have fallen into error on points materially affecting the topography of the old Jerusalem—that they have *e.g.* misplaced hills and valleys and walls and castles and bridges and such like—if further they should be convicted of having, either inadvertently or designedly, misrepresented plain historical facts, may not this be admitted as a proof that they are not altogether infallible, not worthy of implicit confidence ; but that there may be something more to be said in behalf

³ It is adduced with this simple view several times by Dr Robinson, | in both the works above referred to.

of the sacred localities than they have declared, or than others have yet discovered?

Next, with regard to the alleged mistake in fixing the two traditions perpetuated by the churches of St Helena at Bethlehem¹ and on mount Olivet; there is one remark which will apply to both, and is not altogether without weight. The gospel of St Luke was certainly received as canonical in the third century. It is at least probable that the laborious compiler of the Hexapla was not altogether ignorant of its contents; the same may be said of Eusebius, and the learned translator of the Vulgate, in the fourth century, not to mention the clergy and people of the church at Jerusalem, one of whose deacons, as we have seen, had the Holy Scriptures by heart². Now these all with one consent received the traditions in question, and did not reject the gospel of St Luke: they must then have had some way of reconciling the scripture statement with the prevailing traditions. It is certainly easy to say that the fathers here mentioned were "not experienced interpreters" of Scripture, (although, if they were not, it was not at least for want of practice); but is it so easy to imagine what should induce those who originated the traditions to fix on a palpably wrong site—if they did fix it at all? If it were so very obvious that the ascension took place at Bethany, why did they not select a spot in that village? How could they be so rash as to assign it to the summit of mount Olivet, if it were "unquestionably, *prima*

¹ It would be going too far out of the way fully to notice the objections to the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem in this work. They are urged for the same purpose as those against the church of the Ascension; but it is granted that "the objections are not so strong," "the results not so decided."

² It ought to be remembered too that we read the same of many of the monks of mount Olivet and others. They were much commended for it. Ignorance of the holy Scriptures was not considered a virtue in those days, as many seem to imagine.

facie, wrong," and "contradicted by the express declaration of Scripture?"

To proceed now to the main point. On the occasion of our Blessed Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, we are informed by two of the evangelists that "when he had come near to Jerusalem, to Bethphage and Bethany, to the Mount of Olives, he sent two of his disciples³," &c. These words undoubtedly imply progress to the place from whence he sent. Yet he had passed the last day and night at Bethany, according to a third evangelist⁴; and with what propriety could it be said that he had come thither on the Sunday morning, if he had passed the Sabbath there? and, further, how can we account for the mention of Bethphage? The fourth evangelist seems to make all clear⁵. He writes, "When they drew near to Jerusalem, and had come to Bethphage to the Mount of Olives," &c., and makes no mention of Bethany whatever. It is easy to imagine that an objection might be framed to these passages, on account of their inconsistencies. I know not what experienced and candid interpreters of Scripture would reply; but the most satisfactory answer which would occur to me would be this. That the village of Bethany gave its name to the eastern slope of Mount Olivet, at the foot of which it was situated, whereas the western slope was called by the name of Bethphage; and that our Lord may be supposed to have sent his disciples, not from the village of Bethany before he set out, but on his progress to Jerusalem, when he had advanced to that point where the two districts joined, as two of the

³ Mark xi. 1. Luke xix. 29.

⁴ John xii. 1, &c.

⁵ Matt. xii. 1, &c. I may be allowed to mention that this solution is the only one that satisfied me, after

some perplexity, on the spot; when I am not all aware that I had any thought of the traditionary site of the Ascension, which never occurred to me as a difficulty.

evangelists imply, or where Bethany ended and Bethphage began, as the last-cited intimates. This explanation would reconcile the four evangelists.

Next, if the objector should attempt to bring the two passages of St Luke in opposition one to another, and state, that in his gospel he fixes the Ascension to Bethany, whereas in the Acts he appears at least to assign that event to a point of Mount Olivet much nearer to Jerusalem; I certainly could not honestly answer that in the latter passage, "it is only said, that the disciples *returned* from Mount Olivet, not that he ascended from it¹," because I should be afraid to be met by the fresh objection, that Mount Olivet is of some considerable extent², and that to say that it is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey appears unmeaning, except it be taken to signify a particular part of the mountain. Neither, again, should I think it right to extend the sabbatical journey fifteen furlongs, so as to reach the village of Bethany, because although it be true that one very respectable authority may be quoted for this opinion³, yet

¹ Bib. Res. i. p. 375, note 1.

² Josephus in one passage says that Mount Olivet is five stadia from Jerusalem. Ant. xx. viii. 6. But elsewhere he says that Titus ordered two legions to encamp *six stadia* from the city on the Mount of Olives. J. W. v. ii. 3. These passages do not contradict one another. He evidently measures from two different points. It is therefore scarcely candid of Dr Robinson to represent Josephus as saying that *the summit* of the mountain is *five furlongs* distant from Jerusalem, Biblio. Sac. 178, n. 3; for it is certain Josephus cannot mean that; or how could the legions have been *six stadia* distant from the city on the

same mountain? Josephus does not even say that *their camp* was on *the summit* of the mountain—so the summit may have been *more* than six furlongs distant, but could not be *less*. Havercamp, who supposes, as do most writers, that Acts i. 12 is intended to designate the spot of the Ascension, imagines that in Ant. xx. viii. 6, Josephus intends the *base* of the mountain, and that our Lord ascended from the summit, three stadia higher up, making in all eight stadia, which he takes to be the distance specified, a sabbath-day's journey. Vid not. in loc. This I think nearly correct.

³ This is Buxtorf (quoted by Dr Robinson in the note above referred to),

many more quite as respectable state it at something considerably less; and in such cases it is fair to take, not the extreme, but the computation of the majority, which would fix the spot somewhere near to the summit of the mountain. I should reply then as to the former objection, by the theory of a district, as well as a village, named Bethany, (as in the case of parishes in England,) extending to the summit of the Mount of Olives⁴; and suggest whether St Luke may not here have adopted the mode of expression used by St Matthew in the former case; omitting mention of the district which had been traversed, and specifying that at which they had arrived?

Whether it was by this or some other method that the ancient fathers of the Church reconciled the two passages of Holy Scripture, and explained the position of the Church of St Helena, it is of course impossible to say; for the inconsistency of the tradition with the language of the gospel, which is now represented as so very obvious, was a discovery reserved for this generation, and seems not to have occurred to earlier critics; and on this account, as well as

who states it at 2000 paces—two Roman miles. The various computations are given by Mr Newman, Essay, p. clviii. note. The great majority of authorities vary from five to eight stadia, and the Church of the Ascension falls between these.

⁴ Where Professor Robinson reiterates his charge of want of fairness against Mr Newman, in the note referred to above, was he aware that he was misrepresenting Lightfoot in the strangest manner for the support of his own theory, in saying that this author does not extend the district of Bethany to the summit of Mount

Olivet? In order not to run the risk of doing so myself, I will simply quote the Chorographical Index prefixed to his works, sub voce *Olivet*. “The foot of it was five furlongs from Jerusalem, saith Josephus. *The top of it*, Acts i. 12, called a sabbath-day’s journey, which was about eight furlongs, or a mile; and *was the place*, according to the latter sense of our author, *where the tracts of Bethphage and Bethany met*. Here our Saviour ascended, and here he got upon the ass when he rode into Jerusalem.” All this is proved by references to Lightfoot—which see.

from the foregoing considerations, I hope I shall not incur the very serious charges preferred against another writer, if I venture to profess my belief in the existing tradition, reserving none the less, as I trust, the deepest reverence for the Bible.

A very few words may suffice for the description of this ruin, for at present it is nothing more. Instead of a church there is now a mosk near this site, the keeper of which holds the keys of a small portal giving entrance into a paved court of some extent, open to the sky, around which are ranged the altars of the various Christian churches, while the centre is occupied by a small circular building, surmounted by a cupola. Within is a Mahommedan niche of prayer, and before this is the rock on which the simple faith of Christian pilgrims have discovered the impress of our Saviour's foot; and although I trust that those who were assembled around that stone on the afternoon of Holy Thursday, in 1842, to commemorate the Ascension of our blessed Lord, were guilty of no unpardonable incredulity in hesitating to receive this as an undoubted fact; still the ancient story did not invest the rock with less interest, or dispose them to quarrel with those many thousands of pious Christians who, from the earliest ages of the Church, have been able to feel satisfied that such is the case.

Descending now to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by a more circuitous path, we pass the Cave of the Creed, a curious vaulted chamber, in ruins, beneath the surface of the ground, apparently sunk in the rock, and plastered; oblong in form, with six niches on each side, facing one another, where the apostles are said to have assembled to compose the Creed. Further down the mountain-side is pointed out the spot where our Lord wept over the city, and foretold its destruction; and the pilgrim who will betake

himself to that spot alone, and with this thought in his heart, and the Bible in his hand, and with a *true* view of the desolations of Jerusalem before his eyes, and there peruse the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, or the 79th and 80th Psalms, or the Discourses of our Blessed Lord here referred to, will perchance find that the designation of these localities, however fanciful, is not without its use. Between this spot and the valley is the Jewish burial-ground, the appearance of which will furnish a comment on the words, "they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place¹;" the graves being here so close together that the stone slabs which cover them are almost joined one to another, so as to form a kind of pavement of considerable dimensions.

Having reached the brook Kedron, and proceeding down the left of its dry bed, the first objects that attract attention are four sepulchral excavations below the south-east angle of the haram, but on the opposite side of the valley, cut in the precipitous rock, which here skirts the torrent for some distance. They have been often described². Two of them are chambers cut in the rock, the others are monuments cut out from the rock, a passage being left around them. The columns and ornaments sculptured on the latter show a mixture of Doric, Ionic, and perhaps Egyptian architecture; while one of the former, which is called the Tomb of St James, is a more pure specimen of the Doric order. This excavation occupies a middle place between the monolithic monuments; it consists of an ante-chamber, with two columns in the front, giving entrance to the sepulchral vault, which is reported to have afforded a hiding-

¹ Jerem. xix. 11. Not that this is Tophet.

² See a minute description in Bib. Res. i. 518, &c.

place to the apostle St James, during the period which intervened between the betrayal and resurrection of our Lord. The monument to the south is now commonly marked as the Tomb of Zachariah, that to the north as the Pillar or Tomb of Absalom. The entrance to the fourth—the Tomb of Jehoshaphat—is from the passage which surrounds the last-named monument. It now only exhibits a handsome pediment, above the surface of the ground.

Various are the conjectures as to the date of these monuments, and conflicting the traditions as to whom they are to be assigned. I was struck, at the first sight of them, by their resemblance to some of the excavations in Wady Moosa, as represented in illustrations; and the fact of this resemblance is confirmed by travellers who have examined both¹. But in the uncertainty that at present exists as to the date of the latter, this does not throw much light upon the subject. I have no theory to propose, but I should be glad, if it were in any way possible, to connect one of these monuments with him whose name it bears.

In the sacred narrative of the death of the favourite, but rebellious son of David, we read: "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name; and it is called unto this day, Absalom's Place²." The king's dale has been identified with that

¹ Dr Robinson remarks this; and his testimony has been confirmed to me by many travellers. He attempts to connect them by an ingenious hypothesis, which however I fear cannot stand. Mr Bartlett, an architect, I believe is disposed to consider these at Jerusalem "as far more ancient."

Walks, p. 123.

² 2 Samuel xviii. 18. It is a curious name אֶבְשָׁלוֹם יָד lit. "the hand of Absalom," as Josephus and the LXX. translate it. Commentators are not agreed as to the import of this name. The word יָד seems to be used

part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat near which the king's gardens were situated, not without sufficient warrant. It is probable that a monument erected with the design here mentioned would be constructed in the most substantial manner, to render it as durable as possible; and it would appear that this pillar was in existence when Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*; for in his account of the same event he relates that the pillar in question was "in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem³;" language which infers a definite knowledge of the locality. Whether Absalom intended it as a sepulchral pillar, is not clear. The Jews, who from the time of Benjamin of Tudela⁴ at least, have regarded this monument as the Pillar of Absalom, in order to show their horror at the rebellious conduct of this unnatural son, have been in the habit, from time immemorial, of casting a stone and spitting as they pass by it. If I may not be permitted to believe that the orders of architecture⁵ exhibited on this monument may possibly have been known in the East ages before they were introduced into Greece, may I be allowed to submit whether the character

in the same sense, i. e. for a monument, in 1 Sam. xv. 12, and Isaiah lvi. 5, where it is joined with **נֶשֶׁן** "because, perhaps, in such monuments the *name* was usually written. The Phœnician monuments, it should seem, had sculptured on them the form of a hand raised up on an arm, and on this the inscription was engraven." Lee's *Lexicon*, sub voce **נֶשֶׁן** where he refers to authorities. In connexion with this it may be remarked that the Jews have still some curious superstitions with reference to the hand; figures of which are rudely drawn on the walls of their

houses, and their Purim cakes have frequently this form.

³ Ant. vii. x. 3. The original passage runs thus: "Ἔστηκε δ' Ἀβεσδλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ βασιλικῇ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου δύο σταδίων ἀπέχουσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἣν προσηγόρευσεν ἰδίαν χεῖρα.

⁴ Travels, pp. 36, 37. Edit. Asher.

⁵ Viz. Ionic columns on the side, with an architrave of triglyphs and Doric ornaments. It would be difficult, I apprehend, to say to what order the upper part belongs. This is masonry.

and ornament of this mass of rock may not have been altered at a later period, in conformity to the taste of the time? and whether it may not originally have formed the pedestal of Absalom's Pillar?

An incident connected with the excavated Tomb of Jehoshaphat, which I cannot connect with that king¹, may close the notice of these remarkable antiquities. An intelligent member of the United Chaldean Church, who had been educated in the Propaganda at Rome, visited Jerusalem, on his return to his native country, as a missionary of that Society, in the winter of 1842-3. In exploring the inner chamber of this Tomb he lighted on a Hebrew roll containing the Pentateuch. It was very beautifully written on skins, and reminded me much of the Synagogue Roll, found among the Jews of Cochin, and presented by Dr Buchanan to the Cambridge University Library. The MS. had been injured by damp, which may have had the effect of reducing the parchment to its original state of leather, as it had disunited the various skins. I only saw some damaged portions, which were in every respect similar to the Cochin MS., nor did the skins appear to have been at all prepared. It was taken by the superior of the Latin Convent, who intended, I believe, to present it to the Vatican. The discovery produced a considerable sensation among the Franks in Jerusalem; but the general opinion of those best skilled in the practices of the Jews did not attribute much importance to it, or ascribe a very high antiquity to the manuscript. It appears that the rolls used in the synagogues are required to be so perfect, that the most minute error completely vitiates the whole volume. On the detec-

¹ Because he "was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father." 1 Kings xxii. 50, and 2 Chron. xxi. 1.

tion of such imperfection, or on its becoming unfit for further use through age or accident, the MS. is replaced by a perfect copy, and the condemned roll is reserved to be buried with one of the rabbies². The supposition therefore was, that the Jews, whose burying-place is immediately above this ancient tomb, had deposited a body in this chamber, with this book of the law, but as to the date of the transaction nothing could be determined with any degree of certainty. The story may be interesting as illustrating a Jewish practice, and an examination of the undamaged part of the roll might lead to some further results.

At the Pillar of Absalom an arch is thrown across the bed of the Kedron, from which a pathway leads up the almost precipitous side of the mountain by the south-east angle of the haram to the city. By still following the brook, we are brought to the "Fountain of the Virgin," in the contracted part of the valley, on the right-hand side. This fountain will introduce the very interesting and difficult subject of the waters of Jerusalem, which, I fear, must prove a mystery to antiquarians, until it is permitted to carry on excavations at Jerusalem on a very extensive scale.

There is a singular agreement among all authors, sacred and profane, on this fact, that the Holy City had an abundance of water within its circuit, while the neighbourhood was scantily supplied, or rather altogether arid³; and it has been often remarked, that while the besiegers have frequently been reduced to the last extremity by drought, there is no instance

² I take all this on trust; and cannot vouch for its truth from my own knowledge.

³ So Strabo, ἐντός μὲν εὐνδρον ἐκ-
τός δὲ παντελῶς διψηρόν, XVI. p. 723.

Again, αὐτὸ μὲν εὐνδρον, τὴν δὲ κύκλῳ
χώραν ἔχον λυπρὰν καὶ ἀννδρον. Other
testimonies will be found below, and
in the accounts of the various sieges
in the former Part.

on record of the besieged having been distressed by thirst¹, although they have many times suffered most severely from famine. This paradox is perfectly inexplicable; for to judge from the observations of later travellers, one would imagine that the very contrary must have been the case. For what is the fact? only two fountains have been noticed, until very lately, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and both these *without the walls*, while it is plain that the aqueduct from the pools of Solomon could never have served the besieged, as it must always have been visible where it crossed the Valley of Hinnom, and would probably be cut off by themselves at some distance from the walls, lest it should be made available to the enemy during the siege.

But the subject well deserves a particular investigation. And I proceed to notice the fountains, pools, and aqueducts of Jerusalem, in the hope that I may throw some little light on this obscure and perplexing question.

To begin with the Fountain of Siloam. Its position has been already described; but its character demands a fuller notice. The descent to the spring is one of the most picturesque *pieces* about Jerusalem. It is effected by a flight of steps, much worn by the natives, cut through the rock, which is wildly irregular. There are twenty-six steps, making the depth about 25 feet, for the steps are deep. Here is a cave in the rock, of no great dimensions, roughly hewn, into which the water flows from beneath the lowest step. Many earlier

¹ See Robinson's *Bib. Res.* Vol. I. p. 479, and Raumer's *Palestine*, p. 329, 2nd Ed. The observations of both on the siege by Titus are very just; and it is a most remarkable case, considering how crowded the city then was. The latter author notices, that the language of Josephus on the

abundance of water with which the Romans were supplied from Siloam during the siege, is probably only a boast to deceive the Jews; (see *J. W.* v. ix. 4.) as Dio says the legions suffered dreadfully from thirst, and had to bring bad water from a great distance. Dio, LXVII. iv.

writers who mention this fountain, agree in witnessing to its irregular flow², though they differ much as to the stated periods; a variation which may be readily explained by the fact, that the intervals vary according to the season, and other accidental causes, which have not yet been determined. The fact itself is indisputable, and is not one of the least mysterious circumstances connected with this extraordinary fountain. The taste of the water is very peculiar, and never to be mistaken when once known—an important circumstance, which the reader is requested to bear in mind. It is scarcely “brackish;” it is best described by an old writer as “*insipid*”³; but the villagers of Siloam drink thereof and their flocks, and do not find it unwholesome, but the contrary. From the chamber there is a channel cut in a serpentine course, 1750 feet long, to convey the water to the Pool of Siloam, which will next demand attention. To reach it we ascend again to the bed of the Kedron, and pass round the point of Ophel, a distance of 1355 feet. The path

² It does not seem necessary to repeat the testimonies which have been lately given. The curious reader may consult Dr Robinson's *Bib. Res.* Vol. I. pp. 493—508.

³ William of Tyre, viii. 4, “*nec sapidas nec perpetuas habet aquas.*” If the waters have undergone no change, tastes must strangely differ. Josephus pronounces the water “*sweet*” (γλυκεῖαν), J. W. v. iv. 1; one of the historians of the Crusades as “*bitter*” (“*gustæ amarus*”), *Gesta Dei per Francos.* 573; another, “*tasteless*,” “*non sapidas*,” and a modern writer, “*brackish*!” *Bib. Res.* l. c. Sweet—bitter—tasteless—brackish! A traveller in the 17th century calls it sweet;

and gives, in addition, an illustration, which will convey a good idea of the taste. He says, “if you were to drink it blindfold, you would think it was nothing else than *milk and water.*” *Journey to Jerusalem in 1669*, London, 1672. Nor is the variation less striking as to the quantity, than as to the quality of the water. Josephus states it to be *abundant* (πληγὴν πολλήν), the writers of the middle ages *small* (fons modicus, &c.) W. T. l. c. It should be observed, that Dr Robinson, pp. 507, 8, proposes to make *this* “the Pool of Bethesda,” and the irregular flow, “the troubling of the waters by the angel!”

leads under the village of Siloam, hanging on the steep side of the Mount of Offence, chiefly composed of chambers excavated in the rock, once the receptacles of the dead, now the abodes of the villagers and their cattle; below in the expanding bed of the valley is a verdant spot, refreshing to the eye during the heat of summer, while all around is parched and dun. These are the gardens of the villagers, cultivated in terraces composed of soil which has either been washed down by the rains, or brought from a distance, and watered from the pool, to which we must now proceed. Turning to the right, round a sharp angle of rock, we enter the mouth of the valley of the Tyropæon, and passing under the precipitous rock, which has a small channel for the water cut in its base, we soon arrive at the Pool of Siloam.

Here there is a descent through a chasm in the rock to a small basin at the end of the channel, by which all the water not drawn off at the fountain is conveyed to this point. The pool itself is a small tank¹ just without the fissure, of an oblong form, remarkable for nothing but some fragments of marble columns projecting from its sides, probably the remains of a church²; the water is confined in this or in the rocky basin, and drawn off, as occasion requires, to irrigate the gardens beneath.

There is every appearance of there having existed formerly a much larger reservoir than the present, immediately to the east of it, confined at the lower end by a substantial wall of masonry, which now forms a dry bridge, at the south end of which is the ancient tree said to mark the spot of Isaiah's martyrdom. This larger hollow is now

¹ Dr Robinson gives it 53 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 19 deep. Bib. Res. i. p. 497; where, and at pp. 341, 2, will be found a most minute description.

² The building was still standing, but converted into a mosk, in Sandys' time, (1611). Travels, p. 147.

filled with soil and cultivated; but earlier travellers³ confirm the opinion which its appearance would suggest, and notice a second pool in this spot.

The next fountain which I shall mention is one within the city, near the area of the Great Mosk, known only by report until very lately, when an enterprising traveller undertook to explore it; and the company to whom he related the adventure in the small shed built over the mouth of the well by which he effected his perilous descent, will not easily forget the thrilling sensations which his narration produced.

This fountain is used to supply a bath, which has been briefly noticed above as existing near one of the western entrances to the haram. The present mouth of the well is on the roof of the buildings attached to the bath, and is found to be about 20 feet above the level of the street. Dr Robinson had in vain sought permission to explore this well, but the reports which he had heard of it⁴ excited the curiosity of a countryman of his who was at Jerusalem in the winter of 1841-2, and he resolved at all events to descend⁵. Having endeavoured, without success, to induce the keeper of the bath to assist him in the undertaking, he prevailed on two peasants of a neighbouring village to aid him in it. This was in the month of January. At the dead of

³ See Bib. Res. i. 498. Sandys speaks of it as dry in his time; "containing not above half an acre of ground, now dry in the bottom." p. 146.

⁴ Bib. Res. i. 508, &c.

⁵ This was Mr Woolcott, an American Congregational missionary at Beirut, who has been already quoted. The narrative was published in Ame-

rica, in 1842, in a *First Supplement* to the Bib. Res.; a copy of which Mr Woolcott was kind enough to send me, and afterwards in Part I. of the *Biblio. Sacra*, p. 24, &c. With these I refresh my memory of the most graphic description of the adventurer, at the well's mouth, which made me shudder.

night, attended only by a servant-lad, and furnished with candles and matches, a *measuring-rule*, moreover, and a compass, forth he sallied, equipped as for an aquatic excursion. Arrived at the well's mouth, he tied a cord round his body, and was lowered through the aperture by these fellâhs, who had kept their appointment, but would, without doubt, have let the rope slip, and left their employer to his fate on the slightest alarm. However, he survived to tell the tale, an outline of which shall here be given.

The entrance to the well is not quite two feet square, but a few feet lower down it expands and becomes about 12 feet square, and is apparently hewn in the rock. His first adventure in this aërial journey was meeting the leathern bucket which had been tied at the other end of the rope as a counterpoise. It was "streaming at a dozen apertures, and for the rest of the way he was under a cold shower-bath, and could with difficulty keep his light without the circle of it." The well was $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and the water about $4\frac{1}{2}$. On arriving at the bottom, the vibrations of the rope, before he could get a footing, extinguished his light, and he was left in total darkness. He had observed in his descent four arched recesses in the rock opposite to one another, and lower down, 6 feet above the water, a door-way leading into an arched chamber, which he contrived to reach, and here he refitted for his further voyage. The matches were dry, and other candles soon illuminated the darkness. The excavated chamber in which he found himself, was only 3 or 4 feet in height, 15 long by 10 broad, and did not seem to be constructed with any reference to the water. Opposite to this chamber he discovered a passage which formed the water-channel. He had taken the precaution of bringing with him an india-rubber life preserver, which he found useful

in his further explorations. He now descended into the water, and entered the passage, and soon passed another excavation in the rock, of which he could make nothing. The passage beyond this was 2 or 3 feet wide, and about 5 feet high, covered with stones laid transversely, but very irregularly; in some places were fragments of polished marble shafts, and in one place the end of a granite column had sunk obliquely into the passage. The bottom of the channel was not flat, but grooved, and the passage not straight, though its general course was direct; and "the cutting so uneven as to suggest the thought that advantage might have been taken of a natural seam or fissure in the rock." Having followed this passage 80 feet, he was stopped by a bason or well of unknown depth, on the opposite side of which the wall shut down to the water, and presented another obstacle, even could the water have been passed. Unhappily he was obliged to return without any more satisfactory result. His exit is amusingly characteristic of cool intrepidity. He had barely breathing room or space for his candle between the surface of the water and the roof of the passage; and one would think must have felt rather uncomfortable in such a position; but he first measured the passage with his rule, then illuminated it with his spare candles, and having taken a last fond look, left them burning there, and returned to the well to prepare for his ascent. The rope was still there, and the natives above. The signal was given, and he again found himself swinging in mid-air, and in darkness, the candle which he had reserved having been extinguished as before. "His descent had been uniform, but he was necessarily drawn up at intervals, which caused a greater vibration. He spun around the dark vault, striking against one side and another," and was not sorry to find him-

self again "beneath the open heaven." It is deeply to be regretted that this daring exploit was not attended with better success. Its results are very unsatisfactory to Mr Woolcott himself. He does not imagine that this excavation was originally a well: the artificial recesses and chambers in the rock he thinks are against it. It more nearly resembles some of the sepulchral excavations without the city. The direction of the passage he cannot positively determine, as he had injured his compass in the descent. He thinks it runs eastward in the direction of the haram; but if so, it stops short of the enclosure 44 feet¹. The passage may extend further, the water descending into a lower gallery; if so, it could only be explored when the water is very low. Two English travellers were anxious to attempt this at the end of a dry summer, but no one could be prevailed on to aid the undertaking, and it was abandoned. At that time it was necessary for a man to descend to the well, in order to bring the water from a distance to supply the bath, as the floor of the chamber was then dry. A close cross-examination of this man elicited that the water proceeded from an immense reservoir beneath the haram, but it did not appear that he had penetrated so far. It must be remarked that the water is identical in taste with that of Siloam.

The next fountain I have not seen noticed, and, so far as I know, its existence has not been hitherto known out of Jerusalem. I had heard of a constant and abundant well of water within the precincts of the Church of the Flagellation, close to the seraglio, which supplies the Franciscan monastery during the dryest summer. I visited it

¹ The distance of the well from the wall of the haram was found to be 124 feet, and he penetrated underground only 80.

on March 13th and 14th, 1843, and obtained the following additional particulars from the monk who had the charge of the premises. The church is very ancient, but had fallen into ruin until the Franciscans, about a year and a half before my visit, had procured a firman for its restoration². In the course of the repairs an immense quantity of water was required, and the well in question was exhausted, and cleaned out. In two days it was full again, although it was towards the end of the dry season, before any rain had fallen. When I saw the well there were in it between eight and nine feet of water, which completely filled a cavity in the rock, and came up into its mouth, which was also bored through the rock. The water was almost within arm's reach of the opening, and remarkably clear. The cavity I learnt extends some distance east and west; but as I was disappointed in seeing the man who had been employed to cleanse it, I could not ascertain its nature so exactly as I wished. I tasted the water—there could be no mistake—it was the “water of Siloam!”

Thus then we have at these three different points three fountains, without any apparent connexion one with another, all supplied with this peculiar water, utterly unlike any I remember to have tasted in that neighbourhood or elsewhere. I am strongly disposed to conclude, from this fact, that there must be a connexion, but *how* it is very difficult to determine.

The existence of immense reservoirs under the temple-

² See Maundrell, under date April 8. He states that it had been “used as a stable by the son of a certain Bassa of Jerusalem.” When he was there, 1696, it was a weaver’s shop. In confirmation of the former part, it may be

noticed that Anselm (circ. 1509) says of this church, “De illa Capella fecerunt (Sarrauni) stabulum jumentorum.” Descrip. Terr. Sanc. apud Canis. Thes. iv. p. 792.

area, is a theory which still requires ocular proof, but is so supported by ancient tradition, that I think it cannot reasonably be doubted. Among the other works of Simon the Just, the son of Onias, about the temple at Jerusalem, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter of Egypt, we read, "In his days the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass¹." During the reign of Soter's successor, Philadelphus, Jerusalem was visited by Aristeeas, who has left us a full account of this cistern, or rather series of cisterns, beneath the sacred precincts; and although the account may appear to "border somewhat on the fabulous," yet, making considerable allowance for hyperbole both in this and the former passage, it may be admitted as evidence to the existence of large reservoirs in the neighbourhood of the temple; and there is one very singular *coincidence*, manifestly *undesigned*, between this and the fore-cited passage, which is worthy of remark². He states that "a powerful natural spring gushes out copiously and unceasingly from within, and is received into subterranean reservoirs, the extent of which is surprising and beyond description, to the circumference of five stadia about the temple. They are connected by numberless pipes through which the waters flow from one to another. There

¹ Eccles. 1. 3.

² ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ὥς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυρρύτου φυσικῶς ἐπιρρέουσης· ἔτι δὲ θαυμασιῶν καὶ ἀδιηγῆτων ὑποδοχείων ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὸ γῆν, καθὼς ἀπέφαινον, πέντε σταδίων κυκλόθεν τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καταβολῆς, καὶ ἐκάστου τούτων σύριγγας ἀναρίθμους, καθ' ἑκάστον μέρος ἑαυτὰ συναπτόντων τῶν ρευμάτων. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μεμολιβούσθαι κατ' ἐδάφους καὶ τοῦ τοίχου.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κεχύσθαι πολὺ τι πληθος κοιλίας, ἕως ἐνεργῶς γεγεννημένων ἀπάντων· εἶναι δὲ πυκνὰ τὰ στόματα πρὸς τὴν βάσιν, ἀοράτως ἔχοντα τοῖς πᾶσι, πλὴν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐστι λειτουργία. Aristeeas de Leg. Div. Translat. p. 112. Havercamp's Joseph. We shall see that he had aural demonstration.

For the Jewish traditions see Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, xxiii. and elsewhere; of which more will be said below.

are above frequent hidden apertures to these depths, known only to those employed at the sacrifice, through which the water gushing out with force, washes off all the blood of the numerous victims. The reservoirs *have their floors and sides cased with lead*, and are covered over with a quantity of earth." It is highly probable that the *lead* of Aristæas is intended by the *brass* of Ecclesiasticus, with which Onias had cased the "cistern, which was in compass as the sea;" a work which would be fresh in the memory of the Jews at the period of his visit. And there is an incidental remark in this curious passage which may serve to explain the silence of Josephus, which is certainly a perplexing difficulty. The secret of these extraordinary water-works, it appears, was known only to the officiating priests. It may have been a point of religion with the Jews to maintain reserve on this subject, especially in the circumstances under which Josephus was writing. That the idea of such a fountain was prevalent among the Romans, is evident from the language of Tacitus in his account of the siege by Titus³. His description proves that they were aware that the city was not entirely dependent on the heavens, but was furnished with a large natural spring and artificial reservoirs for retaining its water. In conformity with this, we learn from Josephus, that the temple was so abundantly supplied, that notwithstanding the multitudes that had been shut up within its precincts, first during the civil commotions, and afterwards during the siege, yet the Romans, on their occupation thereof, still found it unexhausted, and would not grudge a draught to the Jews who had escaped⁴. Next we have a testimony of like import

³ "Pons perennis aquæ, cavati sub | servandis imbribus." Hist. v. xii.
terra montes; et piscinæ cisternæque | ⁴ J. W. vi. vi. 1.

from the Bordeaux pilgrim¹, and another which serves to connect the tradition of the Jewish Temple with that of the Mosk of Omar. It belongs to the period of the desolation of the former; indeed, to the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild it². The story may have been embellished, but the outline is probably correct. It runs thus. In preparing the foundations for the building, a stone of the lowest course was displaced, which discovered the entrance to a cavern hollowed in the rock; a labourer was lowered into it by a cord, and found water half way up his thigh; on feeling about with his hands, he found on a column, rising some way above the water, a book wrapped in a cloth, which proved to be the Gospel of St John. He does not appear to have explored further. The frequent religious ablutions of the Moslems demand a large supply of water in the neighbourhood of their mosks, and the numerous handsome fountains of the best ages of Saracenic architecture, not only within the sacred enclosure, but in the neighbouring streets of the city, all which are now dry, still bear witness to the fact, that subsequent to their conquest there was an abundance of water in Jerusalem. Again, when the crusaders, who had suffered so dreadfully from thirst during the siege, had taken the city, they found within the precincts of the mosk a most copious supply of water³, although an infinite number of men and cattle had

¹ "Sunt in Hierusalem piscine magnæ duæ ad latus templi, id est una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram quas Salomon fecit;" and again a little below: "Sunt ibi et excepturia magna aquæ subterraneæ et piscine magno opere ædificatæ, et in æde ipsa ubi templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificavit." Itin. Hieros. p. 152. Besides

these he mentions the two without the temple. See below, p. 401, n. 2.

² Philostorgius apud Photium, VII. xiv.

³ "Reperiebantur et aqua, cujus maximam in obsidione passi fuerant penuriam *ingentes copiae*." William of Tyre, VIII. xxiv. p. 761.

been shut up in the city; which cattle we learn were brought to the mosk to be watered⁴; and we further read of large cisterns beneath and about the area, supplied in part with rain-water it is true, but no doubt mainly dependent on the perpetual fountains of which we have read above⁵. In addition to this chain of evidence, we have at the present day a local tradition extending back it is impossible to say how far, describing these cisterns in language which might appear to be borrowed from the book of Ecclesiasticus, or from the narrative of Aristeeas above cited, but which in the mouths of Moslems reminds one rather of the Arabian Nights. The man in the employment of the bath has been already quoted; we find another at the Fountain of the Virgin, declaring that *this* water also comes down from the fountain beneath the mosk⁶; and these individuals do but represent the current opinion of the natives.

In the description which has been given of the Mosk of Omar by the artist who explored it, we have read⁷ of the excavated chamber in the Sahkrah, "in the centre of whose rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck returns a hollow sound, clearly shewing that there is a well or excavation beneath." This however he was not permitted to explore. Again, in the western porch of

⁴ Albert. Aqen. Hist. Hierosol. vi. xxii. Gesta Franc. p. 280.

⁵ So William of Tyre, viii. iv. 749. "Qui autem intus erant præter aquarum pluvialium, quam habebant, uberitatem maximam, fontes etiam a partibus deductos exterioribus et aqueductis inventos, in piscinas duas maximæ quantitatis quæ circa templi ambitum exterius tamen sed infra urbem continentur recipiebant, quarum altera usque hodie probatica piscina reputa-

tur," &c. The author cited in the last note (4), speaks of "cisternam regiam, quæ ante fores ejusdem Palatii, in modum lacus amplitudinem et magnitudinem cavatione continet," &c. This he says was covered over; it contained rain-water, and many fugitives were drowned in it.

⁶ Bib. Res. i. 507.

⁷ Mr Catherwood, in Walks, &c. p. 167.

the mosk is a well, which he conjectures may communicate with the fountain from which the bath is supplied¹; all which appearances serve to corroborate the statements just noticed, which would further seem to derive a strong and striking confirmation from the language of Holy Scripture itself, where the prophet Ezekiel in his allegorical vision was shewn a stream of water issuing forth from under the threshold of the temple, which is apparently alluded to by the prophet Zechariah, and in the Revelation of St John².

From all these testimonies I think we are forced to conclude there is under the haram an abundant fountain of living water; but whether the main spring is there it is more difficult to determine. I am disposed to believe that it is not, but that the water is brought to the reservoirs by an aqueduct, the tradition of which was early lost, as the effects within the temple were exactly such as if the fountain-head had been there. Let us now endeavour to find some traces of the aqueduct. I presume then that the water in the well near the haram has escaped from this aqueduct—that the fountain near the Church of the Flagellation may be, if not the main channel, yet an offshoot from it, which furnished a supply of water to the fortress Antonia, and its predecessors; for the garrison in the original Acra, though often besieged, and at length reduced by famine, are never said to have been inconvenienced by thirst, and so with Baris and Antonia. It would even appear that we may hear something of this aqueduct still higher up. Among the native traditions of Jerusalem is one to this effect, “that there is a spot near the Damascus gate, without the city, where in a still time, by putting the ear near to the ground, the trickling or murmur

¹ Walks, 166, note.

² Ezek. xlvii. 1—11; Zech. xiii. 1; xiv. 8; Rev. xxii. 1. I am in-

debted for this suggestion to Reaumur's Palestine, p. 333.

of a subterranean water-course can be heard³." The Damascus gate, it will be remembered, is at the upper part of what I shall now venture to call the Tyropæon, or "the valley which extends down (*καθίκει*) from the Damascus gate, along the west side of the haram⁴," and two of the fountains which have been mentioned are on the left side of this valley. It would be a matter of considerable interest to discover any early notices of a fountain or aqueduct in this quarter, and I think that Scripture will furnish us with both ; or at any rate with a *conduit* and a *well* or *pool*, with which we may be able to connect a *fountain*.

The present Damascus gate has been presumed to occupy nearly the position of the "gate of Ephraim⁵" in the walls after the captivity, and this last would appear to be identical with "the valley-gate," from the fact of the two being never mentioned together, but as it seems interchangeably⁶. But "the gate of the valley" was "before the dragon well,"

³ Dr Robinson mentions having heard this common report himself at Jerusalem, which was afterwards confirmed by Mr Woolcott. Biblioth. Sacra, Pt. I. 28. There is an extraordinary coincidence between this tradition and the proof given to Aristæas of the truth of the water-story above related ; he writes, Πεισισμένος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποδοχείων κατασκευὴν δηλώσω, καθὼς ἐπιστάτην. προήγαγον γὰρ πλέον σταδίων τεσσάρων, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πρὸς τινα τόπον ἐκέλευσέ τις κατακύψαντα, συνακοῦσαι τοῦ γινομένου ψόφου τῆς ἀπαντήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων ὥστε συμφανὲς μοι γεγενῆναι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγγείων, καθὼς δεδήλωται. Aristæas, loc. cit.

⁴ Dr Robinson, l. c. It is very remarkable how this writer in every

mention of this valley translates Josephus's description of the Tyropæon, which will not at all apply to his imaginary rectangular substitute.

⁵ See Bib. Res. I. 473, and Biblioth. Sac. Vol. I. p. 191, 2 ; and above, Part II. chap. i.

⁶ See Nehem. ii. 13, for the valley-gate ; but there is no mention of the Ephraim gate in the account of the building of the walls ; while on the contrary, in xii. 39, we have the gate of Ephraim evidently near the same place, and no mention at all of the valley-gate, in the description of the dedication of the walls. The propriety of both names is obvious. The other passages, where these names are mentioned, throw no light on the subject.

which, therefore, if the premises are correct, will be somewhere without the Damascus gate. As this is the only mention of the dragon well in Scripture, we cannot test the accuracy of the conclusion by any other passage from the sacred records; but Josephus will in some measure enable us to do so. There can be little doubt that his "Serpent's Pool¹" is the same with the "Dragon Well" of Nehemiah, and this adjoined the monuments of Herod, which were evidently without the third wall, on this northern quarter of the city. This notice will confirm the result above stated, and give a pool or a well, and possibly a fountain, without the Damascus gate, between it and the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where we shall find that the monuments in question were situated².

But where can we find an aqueduct to connect this water with the fountains about the temple? In two of the sacred books we read, that when the three Assyrian captains were sent by Sennacherib against Jerusalem, "they came and stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool, which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field³." Again, the position of the Fuller's Field, it is true, is nowhere determined by Scripture, but Josephus will help us to its situation; at least, he speaks of a Fuller's Monument as a well-known topographical feature, and it seems natural to connect the Fuller's Monument with the Fuller's Field. This was at the corner tower⁴, at the north-east angle of the wall of Agrippa, where the Valley of Jehoshaphat bends round from the north to the east; and

¹ Joseph. J. W. v. iii. 2. τῶν Ἡρώδου μνημείων, ἃ προσείχε τῇ τῶν Ὀφείων ἐπικαλουμένη κολυμβήθρα.

² Compare with the passage last referred to, v. xii. 2, and see Bib. Res. Vol. i. p. 535, note 6, in the former

part of which Dr R. fixes it to this vicinity. The latter part I do not understand.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 17, and Isa. xxxvi.

⁴ Compare Isa. vii. 3.

⁴ J. W. v. iv. 2.

the monument was apparently inclosed in this outer wall. This position of the Fuller's Field is further remarkably confirmed by the following observation. It would not be doing undue violence to the language of Scripture, to imagine that when it is said that the Assyrian host "stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool," &c., this language is intended to denote the place of their encampment; especially as we find the state-ministers of Hezekiah going forth to confer with the officers of Sennacherib in that place. Now "the camp of the Assyrians" was well known by tradition in the time of Josephus. It was then included in Bezetha, and Titus encamped there when he had taken the outer wall. It was situated near the Kedron, at the north-east of the new city, having the Fuller's Monument on one side, and on the other the Monument of Herod⁵, which last we saw was close to the Serpent's Pool. Thus then is the "Upper Pool" of Isaiah identified with the "Dragon Well" of Nehemiah, the "Serpent's Pool" of Josephus; and an aqueduct or "conduit" is shewn to have been carried from it—in what direction is left apparently to conjecture. But the nature of the ground, no less than the mysterious sounds near the Damascus Gate, would point to the valley of the Tyropæon as its probable course, while the fountains above described, on the side of the valley, afford a strong confirmation to this hypothesis.

This aqueduct was formed by Hezekiah, and is alluded to more than once in Holy Scripture as a great work of that king⁶. In the summary of his acts, in the second book of

⁵ J. W. v. vii. 3, and xii. 2.

⁶ The mention of a conduit in connexion with this pool in the time of Ahaz the predecessor of Hezekiah, isa. vii. 2, would seem to intimate that the work was commenced by him; or the con-

duit which conveyed the waters from the fountain to this upper pool may be intended in these passages. But it will appear below that it was from this pool that Hezekiah derived his supply of water, which is the only material point.

Kings, we are told, "how he made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city¹;" and the prophet Isaiah alludes to the same works where he says to the Jews, "Ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool . . . ye made a ditch (or reservoir) between the two walls for the water of the old pool²." Here the "lower pool" is identical with the reservoir³ "between the two walls," and is so called in opposition to the "upper pool," in the passage above cited, from which the waters were derived, and which is here designated as the "old pool," with equal propriety. There is also a much later reference to these same works in the book of Ecclesiasticus, where it is written, among the praises of Hezekiah, "He fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters⁴."

I have reserved for fuller consideration the passages in the Second Book of Chronicles relating to these same works, because their language is much more definite, and may perhaps appear at first sight to militate against the theory. We there read, among Hezekiah's other defensive preparations, "He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains, which were without the city; and they did help him. So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook

¹ 2 Kings xx. 20, the same words as are used in the three passages above :

אֶת־הַבְּרֶכָה וְאֶת הַתְּעָלָה.

² Isaiah xxii. 9, 11. A comparison of this passage with the historical notice of the preparations against Sennacherib's invasion, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3—5, can leave no doubt that the same works are referred to in both passages.

³ I take the liberty of substituting the word "reservoir" for "ditch," that it may not be confounded with the aqueduct. The word is מְקוֹה a collection or gathering together here, of waters, as in Genesis i. 10. In Exodus vii. 19, the authorised version renders it "pools." See again Levit. xi. 36.

⁴ Eccclus. xlviii. 17.

that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" And these operations are again alluded to in the summary of his acts: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David⁵." Now it is at once granted, that if this language be taken to describe the course of Hezekiah's conduit, and if by the City of David Mount Zion is to be understood, then the theory above proposed, however strongly supported, must fall to the ground; because the course which has been there marked out for the aqueduct is *to the east*, and not to the west of Mount Zion. But is it certain that Mount Zion must be intended by the City of David? In the books of the Kings there can be no doubt that they are synonymous⁶, but in the books written after the Captivity, the City of David seems to be taken, if not in a different, at least in a wider acceptation⁷; and if the 48th Psalm dates before the Captivity, an equivalent expression in the second verse must clearly be referred, not to Zion, but to the other division of the city⁸. We have seen above that Millo is so

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30. Might not verse 30 be rendered thus: "He stopped the upper outflow of Gihon, and directed it down westward, to the city of David," **לְמַשָּׁה מֵעֶרְבָה** **לְעִיר דָּוִד** instead of "to the west of the city?" Might it not then mean that the water was guided west of its former course, so as to be brought to the city of David? The text will shew that I do not consider this necessary for my theory; but propose it merely as another solution, which will allow "the city of David" to be taken in its most restricted sense.

⁶ See 2 Sam. v. 7; 1 Kings viii. 1; and the parallel passages in Chronicles.

⁷ Dr Robinson supposes the whole city to be called by this name; and labours at some length to prove it in his *Biblioth. Sac.* Vol. i. p. 197, &c. I think that he misunderstands the expression in Nehemiah and Maccabees. He takes the Acra of the Macedonians to be on mount Zion, a position which appears to me quite untenable. See last chapter.

⁸ This verse, from its importance in this and other questions, demands a

called in one passage in Chronicles¹; in the book of Nehemiah the name is apparently given to Ophel²; and it has been already remarked, that in the books of Maccabees, Moriah is usually so designated³. Further, "the tower" (Acra), which is said to have occupied "the hill of the temple⁴," is constantly placed "in the City of David⁵." From these facts we must conclude that this name was used for "Acra," or "the Lower City," by the Jews after the captivity; and if so, may we not suppose that they had some warrant for this designation in their canonical books? May we not believe

fuller consideration. It has been observed above, Pt. II. c. i., that a misunderstanding of it has led many Jewish writers to believe that Mount Zion was *north* of the temple, and that they led our learned Lightfoot astray. Prospect of the Temple, *passim*. The original is somewhat obscure.

Our Authorised Version renders it: "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, (*is*) mount Zion, (*on*) the sides of the north, the city of the great king;" the sense of which, even with the two prepositions supplied, is not very clear. The learned Reland seems to suggest the right interpretation, though he does not adopt it. He remarks (Pal. p. 847), that "the Hebrew says only 'mount Zion—the sides of the north,' &c. mentioning, as it were, the two principal parts of the city, 'mount Zion' or 'the upper city,' and 'the northern parts,' (*τὰ προσόρκτια μέρη*) as Josephus speaks, i. e. whatever is north of Zion." He supposes the two together to make up "the city of the great king:" it would seem more natural to take these last words as in opposition to the second member

of the sentence, which would give the sense of our Prayer-book version: "The hill of Zion is a fair place, and the joy of the whole earth: upon the north side lieth the city of the great king," &c. This is the sense adopted by Poole (Syn. Crit. in loc.), who corrects Kimchi and Aben Ezra, as Lightfoot should have done, from books of travel, &c. He gives the following as the Versio Tigurina: "Mons Sion, in cujus Aquilonari latere urbs magni regis est, elegans est regio, et gaudium universæ terræ."

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. See above, p. 273. n. 4.

² In iii. 15, the reference is not so clear; but in xii. 37, it will be remarked that the procession on its way from the fountain gate (identified with Siloam, in ii. 14, and iii. 15) to "the water-gate," (supposed, generally, to be the south gate of the temple; see iii. 26, and viii. 1, 3, 16,) "went up by the stairs of the city of David."

³ See above, p. 350; 1 Macc. iv. 37, 38, 60; vi. 48, 51, 62; vii. 33.

⁴ 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

⁵ 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; xiv. 36.

that the word is used in this sense by Ezra, in the passage under consideration? If so, the course marked out for the aqueduct along the Tyropæon will exactly answer to the description which is there given; and this conclusion is confirmed by this fact, that the reservoir which Hezekiah made to receive the water conveyed to it by this aqueduct, is clearly placed by the language of Holy Scripture at the end of this valley, viz. at the Pool of Siloam. The reservoir, or "lower pool," into which "the waters of the old pool" were received, was made "between the two walls;" a position not at all defined in this context, but which is more than once mentioned in other passages, in a way that must have marked the spot very determinately to a Jewish reader at the time when the books were written, and which will, I trust, lead us to a right conclusion. When the city was "broken up" after the long siege by the army of the Chaldeans, in the days of Zedekiah, we are told that the besieged "fled by night, by the way of the gate, between two walls, which is by the king's garden⁶;" and this most precise language is repeated no fewer than three times. These are the only passages except that in Isaiah in which this remarkable expression, "between the two walls," occurs. Without then stopping at present to enquire into the meaning of the words, I would ask, can it admit of a doubt that the situations are identical? and that the Pool of Hezekiah is to be looked for near this gate, wherever it was? and if we should find a "*king's pool,*" *with a gate, not far from the king's gardens,* must we not at once be convinced that this, and none other, is the reservoir alluded to by Isaiah? Now we do actually find this in the book of Nehemiah—first alluded to briefly

⁶ 2 Kings xxv. 4; comp. Jerem. xxxix. 4, and lii. 7, the words are:

בֵּין הַחֲמַתִּים.

in his nocturnal survey, where we have mention of “the gate of the fountain,” and “the king’s pool¹,” and afterwards much more clearly in the account of the rebuilding of the walls: “The *gate of the fountain* repaired Shallun, . . . he built it and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, and the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the *wall of the pool of Siloah, by the king’s garden*².” The pool between the two walls, and the gate by the king’s garden, between the two walls, might be almost thought to be brought together designedly here; so very clear and satisfactory is the language: and the gardens which have been mentioned as existing at the present day, below the Pool of Siloam, are thus invested with peculiar interest, as there can be no question that they occupy the very position of the royal gardens mentioned in these passages³.

One word may now be added concerning the “two walls.” It was shewn above, from an incidental notice of Josephus⁴, that there was a wall drawn from the pool of Siloam along the eastern ridge of Mount Zion, above the valley of the Tyropæon. The main wall was continued past Siloam, round the point of Ophel, and the space *between the two walls* must evidently have been much confined at the mouth of the Tyropæon, and consequently the gate and the pool would be very clearly designated by this peculiarity, that they were “between the two walls.”

I think that no doubt can now remain as to the disputed point of the Pool of Hezekiah—for I have attempted

¹ Nehem. ii. 14.

² Ibid. iii. 15.

³ It is a singular fact that the same is the case with Solomon’s gardens of Etham, below the noted pools. They are still cultivated as gardens, still

known by the same name Etan. Eccles. ii. 5, 6; and Josephus, Ant. viii. vii.

3. See more below.

⁴ Above, p. 105, and Josephus, J. W. v. vi. 1.

to determine it from Scripture alone; and I further venture to hope that an additional reason has now been shewn for the sense attached to "the city of David," in the passage bearing on the subject.

There is still remaining, however, one point of great difficulty, upon which no observations which I have been able to make, and no remarks which I have seen, afford the slightest satisfaction. I mean the connexion between the Fountain of the Virgin and the waters about the haram, supposing such connexion to exist, as the tradition of the natives, no less than the identity of the taste, renders very probable. Why should the water have been brought at all to this point, and thence continued through the rock to the pool of Siloam, and not rather have been carried down direct from the temple? I fear I can offer no satisfactory solution of this difficulty; and the only hint that I can throw out for the assistance of others is this, that there seems to have existed a pool here even from the time of Solomon⁵, which that king may have connected with the temple⁶, so

⁵ Josephus, J. W. v. iv. 2.

⁶ It is plain that a great quantity of water must always have been required for sacred purposes in the temple. Is it not likely that Solomon may have turned the brook Kedron into the sacred precincts from the east, and brought it out again at the Fountain of the Virgin? Dr Robinson says, "The water is apparently brought hither by some unknown, and perhaps artificial channel." Bib. Res. i. p. 342. And again, p. 507, he asks, "Was there perhaps originally a small and failing fountain here, to which afterwards other waters were conducted from the temple?" In 1 Kings i. 45, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, the Chaldee identifies Si-

loam with Gihon, which is the name of the Nile. Gen. ii. 13. One reason for this is said to be that the source of Siloam, like that of the Nile, is obscure. Reland's Palest. p. 859. He quotes Theodoret, Quæst. II. in 1 Kings. Ἐπωνόμασαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλοάμ Γηών.....ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀφανῶν ἔξεισιν ὑπονόμων ὥσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος. The rabbies give the same explanation. I would further observe, that if this water be supposed to proceed from the overflowings of the reservoirs under the mosk enclosure, the irregular flow would be easily explained by the quantity consumed at the bath, in the haram, and about the Church of the Flagellation. Dr Robinson throws

that when Hezekiah had brought his aqueduct so far, he may have been able to continue it by the old channel to a point so near its destination, and so have found it unnecessary to bore a new conduit, except through that part of the ridge of Ophel between the present Fountain and Pool.

To recapitulate very briefly. The upper spring of Gihon once had its issue on the north side of the city, not far from the tombs of the kings. Its water was originally received into a pool called the Serpent's Pool, out of which it flowed, probably down the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In order to divert it from the uses of the enemy, and make it available to his own people in case of siege, Hezekiah stopped the upper fountain, and brought the water of the upper pool by an aqueduct down the valley which bisected the city, as far as the temple, where it supplied the reservoirs prepared by himself or former kings, and then flowed off by an old channel to the Fountain of the Virgin, and was continued through a new bore to the Pool of Siloam, otherwise called the "Lower Pool," and the "King's Pool," being in fact the veritable "Pool of Hezekiah."

A few words must now be said on two pretenders to that honour, one near St Ann's Church, on the east of the city, supported by the chroniclers of the crusades; the other near the Jaffa gate at the west of the city, which

out a hint to the same effect, p. 507; and again obstructions in the aqueduct caused by the ruins of the city would account for a variation which has been noticed above in the ancient and modern observations on the quantity of the water. In confirmation of this hypothesis, it may be noticed that the rabbies had an idea that the overflowing of the reservoirs under the temple, which were continually replenished

from without, was carried off by a subterraneous channel to the Pool of Solomon. See Lightfoot's *Chorograph. Inq.* cap. v. sect. 5; where a few most important hints for the elucidation of the subject are thrown out. May not the channel by which Omar was conducted to the site of the temple have been this identical aqueduct? See above, p. 203.

can only shew the much later tradition originated by Quaresmius, and adopted by Dr Robinson.

As the former of these pools must have been without the walls of the old city, and exactly at the weakest part of the temple-enclosure, where the hostile armies so frequently encamped, it is highly improbable, considering the object of Hezekiah, that he would have formed a pool in a situation so very convenient for the besieging army; nor am I aware that any early authority can be shewn for placing Hezekiah's Pool in this quarter. It was here that the earlier Christians found "the Pool of Bethesda;" and this tradition deserves a further notice. Josephus teaches us to look for two pools in this quarter¹. The one forming the fosse of the temple, described also by Strabo, the other forming the trench of Antonia; Struthius was the name of one or both.

That these are the two pools, or rather the double-pool near the temple, described in the Jerusalem Itinerary of 333², there can be little doubt; for although the author does not fix them to the north of the temple-area, as neither does Eusebius nor St Jerome³, in the same century, yet all these writers agree in their testimony to these pools being the Sheep-Pool, which we know was found by later writers in this situation; nor do we read of any other pools which would answer the description.

It has been remarked by critics that St John, by his

¹ J. W. v. xi.

² "Interius vero civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur Betsaida, (lege Bethesda). Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur." Itin. Hierosol. p. 152.

³ St Jerome translating the Ono-

masticon of Eusebius writes, "Bethesda, piscina in Hierusalem, quæ vocabatur προβατική, et a nobis interpretari potest pecualis, hæc quinque quondam porticus habuit, ostendunturque gemini lacus," &c. (λίμναις διδύμοις. Euseb.)

use of the present tense in speaking of Bethesda, intimates that it had survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and was still well known when he wrote his gospel, at the close of the first century, which would form a strong presumption for its continued preservation until the time of Constantine. The pool is placed by this evangelist in the "sheep-market¹," (ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ), but many commentators are of opinion that the word *gate* should be supplied in this passage instead of *market*, and it is certain that a "sheep-gate" is spoken of in Scripture, but a "sheep-market" never. Now Nehemiah will lead us to fix the "sheep-gate" on the north of the temple²; the traditions of the Jews will further give us not only a "gate," but a large supply of water for the sacred services on this quarter³; and Josephus, whose mention of the pools was lately referred to, also speaks of a northern gate to the outer temple⁴. This gate, which led to Bezetha, would be east of Antonia, between it and the pool, where two gates are now found; and I am strongly of opinion that the vaulted passages at the west of the present pool, noticed in the last chapter, both communicated with the fosse of Antonia and formed a passage to the gate, by a bridge over the arches. That it was in this part that Cestius first, and Titus afterwards, made their attack upon the outer temple on the north, may be inferred from the impossibility of filling such a trench as that which at present exists, and pro-

¹ John v. 2.

² See Nehem. iii. 1, 32.

³ Lightfoot, *Prospect of the Temple*, cap. vi. The name of the gate seems doubtful from him. For the baths in this quarter, see the same work, cap. xxix. 4, and cap. xxxi.

⁴ J. W. II. xix. 5, where Cestius assails the *northern wall* of the tem-

ple, and the soldiers prepare to fire the *gate*. Here it is evident that the approach to the wall of the outer court was easy; no mention is made of filling in the trench. See again, vi. ii. 7, where banks are raised against the *northern wall*; and iv. 1, the foundations of the *northern gate* are undermined.

bably did exist at that period; for the tradition is continuous from the time to which it has been already brought down. Unhappily, one of the "*twin-pools*," viz. that by the church of St Ann, has now completely disappeared, but its position may be very accurately determined by the language of Christian writers, and the precise place which the fosse of Antonia must have occupied⁵.

The water in one of these pools was of a peculiar red appearance, which might perhaps be accounted for by the cement with which it was lined, but was taken by earlier writers to exhibit the signs of the use to which it was formerly put for washing the entrails of the victims which had been offered in sacrifice⁶. Whence they derived their supply of water it is difficult to say. The existing pool, though of an enormous size, was cased up to the top, as is evident

⁵ It is sometimes said to be "ante Ecclesiam Stæ Annæ;" elsewhere, "ad latus Ecclesiæ." Brocardus is more exact: "Intrantibus portam vallis ad sinistram occurrit juxta viam Probatica Piscina, ad dextram vero contra eam, viâ intermediâ, est piscina grandis valde, quæ dicebatur piscina interior, hanc fecit Hezekias," &c. *Descrip. Ter. Sanc. apud Canisii Thes.* Vol. iv. p. 18. Anselm (circ. 1509) is still more accurate, and these two authors will enable us to determine its position with a great degree of certainty. After speaking of the church of St Anna, he says: "*Non remotè ab hâc Ecclesiâ, versus domum Pilatî, habetur alia piscina grandis*," &c. It had water then which he supposed to be brought from the pools of Solomon. The other pool was then dry.

⁶ "Aquam autem habent eæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatam." Itin.

Hieros. p. 152. St Jerome translating Eusebius, Onom., says of the "gemini lacus, quorum unus hybernis pluviis adimpleri solet; alter mirum in modum *rubens*, quasi cruentis aquis antiqui in se operis signa testatur. Nam hostias in eo lavari a sacerdotibus solitas ferunt, unde et nomen (*προβατική*) accepit." William of Tyre does not mention the peculiarity of the colour, but says, "Usque hodie probatica piscina reputatur, in quâ olim immolatiæ lavantur hostiæ," &c. VIII. iv. p. 749. It is a most remarkable confirmation of this that Lightfoot, without any thought of Bethesda, shews from the Rabbies that the entrails of the victims were washed in a bath-room, where there was a constant supply of water, at the north of the outer temple. Prospect of the Temple, xxxi.

from its present appearance; and the vaulted channels were similarly provided for a full supply. Eusebius and St Jerome say that one of the pools was usually filled with rain-water, which would perhaps *imply* that the other was supplied from a spring; and a later authority informs us that such was actually the case¹. Indeed, even so late as the 17th century a countryman of our own² saw a small stream flowing into the Pool of Bethesda, on the northern side, which must have been supplied by a fountain, and to this present day there are frequent wells among the ruins about the church of St Ann, containing water which there are no buildings to receive or collect, and the natives have a tradition of large subterranean cisterns in this quarter. All this would countenance the idea that a branch of the aqueduct was carried in this direction for the supply of these reservoirs, and the excavation in the Church of the Flagellation was not improbably a part of it.

The name given to one or both these pools by Josephus is *Struthius*; and the received interpretation of this word is remarkably confirmatory of the tradition, although there cannot be any intentional coincidence. It appears that Struthium is the name of a root the ashes of which form a strong alkali, much used in making soap; and the corresponding Hebrew word is translated "soap" in the only passages in which it occurs in the Bible³. "Bethesda," it is now generally

¹ See the quotation from William of Tyre, above, p. 389, n. 5.

² "...into which a barren spring doth drill, from between the stones of the northward wall, and stealeth away almost undiscerned." Sandys' Travels, p. 149. The most probable account of this small spring is that, on the filling up of the other pool, which took place

before Sandys' visit, the water forced a passage for itself through the ground to the Birket Israil.

³ Jeremiah ii. 22, and Mal. iii. 2. בִּרִית is the Hebrew word. "Boritt, i. e. herba fullonum: puta σαπυρίδιον, aut saponaria. Talmudici in locum Jerem. ii. 22, dicunt, 'Nitrum et borith, i. e. Cimolia (or Kimolia) et asleg ad

agreed, signifies "the house of effusion or washing," and it is highly probable that the Greek word used by Josephus was intended as a translation of this Hebrew name, considering that the identity of situation is proved by independent arguments.

On the whole, then, it would appear that the tradition which marks the Birket Israïl as the "Pool of Bethesda" has much to be said in its favour, and I am not aware of any arguments against it. The five porches have long since disappeared; they may have formed a bath-room on some part of the pool, which was devoted to such as sought the benefit of those miraculous virtues with which the waters were gifted, apparently at uncertain intervals, by the descent of the angel; as there were other chambers for various purposes adjoining the pool, with cisterns and fountains supplied from its waters, which were probably derived from the upper pool by the aqueduct of Hezekiah, and were received first into the large pool which is now filled up, from whence they flowed to the Pool of Bethesda, by those covered channels the ruins of which are still to be seen.

The Birket el Hummam, as has been shewn above, has little to be said in proof of its connexion with Hezekiah, and is unnoticed by Christian writers until comparatively recent times⁴, nor is there the slightest evidence of its ever having had any connexion with a fountain. It was probably always supplied, as at present, from the large receptacle without the city, now called the "Pool of Mamilla," which "lies

lavandam vestem maculatam.' *Asleg* est Persicum *aslengi*. Arabes vocant *Condu*s. Græci στρώθιον unde στρωθίζειν. Romani radiculam et herbam *lanaicam*, quia ut Plinius auctor est, lavandis lanis succum habet, mirum quantum conferens candorj et mollitiæ."

Bochart. Geogr. Sac. Part II. ch. xiv. p. 455. "Nihil fere excepta radice *Struthion* est." Pliny apud Bochart. l. c. See also Poole's Synopsis, ad loc.

⁴ See above for a fuller account, Pt. II. chap. i. p. 269.

⁵ Yet I am not aware of any earlier

in the basin forming the head of the Valley of Hinnom, about seven hundred yards W.N.W. from the Jâffa gate." The waters collected by this pool immediately flow off through a sluice at the bottom into the "rude conduit" which conveys it into the Pool of the Bath, and the character both of the pools and of the aqueduct are strongly against the antiquity which has lately been claimed for them; for not only is the latter utterly insignificant, whereas the conduit of Hezekiah was obviously a large and important work, but the former does not at all resemble the ancient pools, one of which we shall presently be called to examine. Besides which, the intentions of the king could never have been answered by the works in question, supposing them to be his, as the Upper Pool and the aqueduct must always have been visible and available to the besieging army. Lastly, I am not aware that there is any authority from ancient writers for calling the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom by the name of Gihon, which is identified by Jewish and early Christian writers with Siloam¹, to which we will now return, in order to examine another well of living water in its immediate neighbourhood.

This is the Bîr Eyûb, the well of Job, at the point where the three valleys of Jerusalem, viz. Hinnom, Kedron, and the Tyropæon, meet at the south-east of the city, between the Mount of Offence and the Hill of Evil Counsel. This is properly a well cut through the rock at the lower part, and built above with solid masonry. It is 125 feet deep, and the quantity of water varies with the season. In the rainy season it frequently overflows, but I was not so happy

notice of this outer pool than William of Tyre, who seems to describe it as "*Lacus Patriarchæ, quod est juxta vetus cæmeterium in speluncâ quæ cog-*

nominatur Leonis." VIII. ii. p. 747.

¹ See above, p. 399, n. 6, and Re-land's Palestine, p. 859.

as to witness this phenomenon during the two winters of my sojourn at Jerusalem. But on one occasion, after an interval of some days without rain, the appearance was as if a strong current were flowing through the well, the water of which was sparkling with the rapidity of its motion. This well is supposed to be identical with the Enrogel of Scripture, which must certainly have been in this neighbourhood². If such is really the case, its disappearance at various intervals from the annals of history must be accounted for by the supposition of its being stopped from time to time in order to conceal it from the enemy³. Its connexion with Nehemiah, by whose name it is also called⁴, is not so obvious; nor does any probable reason for its modern appellation appear in history. But if we adopt the name of the Jewish Itinerary of the 16th century⁵, supported as it is by the tradition of the Greek Christians, who call the well by the name of *Joab*, not of Job⁶, we may well connect it with a passage in the scripture narrative. Enrogel was the scene of Adonijah's attempt on the kingdom, at the close of his father David's life⁷, and Joab was the most noted of his partizans; and this may have given occasion to call the well after the son of Zeruah, celebrated as the captain of the host during the long reign of king David.

² Josh. xv. 7, 8; and xviii. 16, 17.

³ William of Tyre and others of the earlier chroniclers of the crusades knew nothing of it; but he and they say plainly that the besieged had stopped all the fountains about the city. VIII. iv. p. 749.

⁴ This name does not appear earlier than the close of the 16th century, according to Dr Robinson, B. R. i. 491.

⁵ Bib. Res. *ibid*.

⁶ So the Προσκυνητάριον writes it : πηγάδιον τοῦ Ἰωάβ. p. 84.

⁷ 1 Kings i. There is an interesting notice of this well in the very curious "History of the Temple at Jerusalem," (to which reference has been made above, Pt. i. chap. iv.) p. 141 of the translation. On p. 140 may be found a reason for the name of the Fountain of the Virgin, different from that assigned by Christians, and quite as probable. The overflow of the well of Job in winter is noticed, and the writer says that flour-mills were turned by the water.

It is difficult to account for the abundant supply of water in this well. I was strongly persuaded from the first that it does not rise here, but merely flows through it; and its appearance, as above described, confirmed me in this opinion. Had the water been identical in taste with that of Siloam, it might easily have been connected with the Fountain of the Virgin; but such is not the case. Nor does any hypothesis suggest itself by way of solution but the following, which I submit with great diffidence. Among Hezekiah's other acts we are told that "he stopped... the brook that ran through the midst of the land," and this would appear to be a distinct work from that connected with Gihon, which has been already considered¹. This "brook" has been identified with the Kedron². May there not have been another fountain besides that of Gihon, whose water flowed down the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and which it was necessary to divert for the same purpose? There is no memorial, so far as I am aware, of any stream having flowed down the bed of the Kedron; but the writers of the middle ages believed that its waters found a passage beneath the dry bed of the torrent. The Church of the Virgin, by the Garden of Gethsemane, is so far below the present level of the valley, that the descent to it is by fifty steps, and their idea was that this is really the bed of the valley, but that it has been filled up by the ruins of the ancient city thrown down from above³. Below this they imagined that the torrent found its way, and Brocardus goes so far as to say that the murmur of its waters might be heard when they had been increased by the winter rains⁴. It may be remarked, in con-

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4, 30.

² See Poole's Synopsis, in loc.

³ Bib. Res. i. p. 346, n. 1.

⁴ "Sub qua [scil. Ecclesia] etiam

torrens Cedron, aquis pluvialibus factus tumidior, hybernis mensibus defluere consuevit." William of Tyre, viii. ii. 747. ... "torrens Cedron, qui

firmation of this, that there is a tank of water below this church, and another lower down the valley, near the Pillar of Absalom⁵. The water in these reservoirs fails during the summer, from whence it would appear that they are filled from the brook when increased by the rains, but are not fed with a constant supply, as is the case with the Bîr Eyûb, which I imagine opens down to the main stream of the torrent; which would satisfactorily account for its overflowing occasionally during the rainy season.

There remains yet one more pool to be noticed, which is situated in the Valley of Hinnom, up which we may now proceed from the Well of Job. We here pass under Acel-dama, or "the Field of Blood," on the left; a spot which was likely to be preserved in memory by its distinctive name and use, and the tradition of which reaches back as far as St Jerome⁶. In its neighbourhood are many other tombs excavated in the valley-side, in some of which may be seen traces of painting, and inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew, too much effaced by time to be clearly deciphered. This hill,

colligitur de superioribus partibus civitatis versus aquilonem juxta Rama et Anathoth, et (non) longe de Sepulchro Dominæ nostræ Sanctæ Mariæ auditur ejus murmuratio sub terra descendens, juxta natatoria Siloe sub monte Offensionis, in vallem Tophet sive Gehennon." Brocardi *Des. Terr. Sanct. apud Canisii Thes. Mon.* Vol. iv. p. 18.

⁵ Bartlett's Walks, pp. 122, 3.

⁶ For this and the tombs, see Bib. Res. i. 523, &c. It should be remarked that this name was also given to another parcel of ground in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It would have

prevented confusion if the burial-place had been called "the potter's field," (Matth. xxvii. 3, &c.) and the scene of that awful event recorded in Acts i. 18, 19, "the field of blood." For they are supposed to be distinct localities, though both called by a common name, which may explain an inconsistency between Eusebius and St Jerome, of which Dr Robinson does not fail to take advantage. *Biblioth. Sacr.* Pt. II. p. 176. The scene of the second event was shewn near Absalom's Hand. Sir J. Maundeville, p. 112, (edit. 1727) notices both. So also does Maundrell, under date April 6, pp. 101, 2.

which Dr Clarke supposed was Mount Zion¹, is commonly marked as “the Hill of Evil Counsel,” so designated from the iniquitous bargain of the traitor Judas, said to have been concluded in the country-house of Caiaphas, the ruins of which are still shewn on its summit; and it is a very singular fact that Josephus, in his account of the wall of circumvallation, does notice the monument of *Ananus the high priest* in this neighbourhood, which Ananus is none other than “Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas,” and his assessor and adviser in the awful crime here referred to². The coincidence is very curious; and had Josephus been a Christian historian of later times, and a defender of the Ecclesiastical Traditions, he could scarcely have escaped the suspicion of an attempt to connect this family with the hill, in order to give some support to the story in question.

Proceeding now up the Valley of Hinnom, we arrive at the large pool, commonly called “Birket es-Sultan,” marked in modern plans as “the Lower Pool of Gihon,” without any warrant whatever. It is beyond all doubt an ancient pool, as a comparison with the Pools of Solomon, south of Bethlehem, would prove. It is formed, as are they, “by the erection of stone barriers across the valley, squaring the rocky sides, and clearing out the soil³,” and in this it differs materially from the “Pool of Mamilla,” “the sides of which are built up with hewn stones laid in cement⁴,” as is also the

¹ Simply from the fact of some of them bearing the inscription THC AFIAC CIQN. One would have thought it did not require much erudition to supply ΠΟΛΙΤΗC, or something equivalent, effaced by time.

² John xviii. 13. See again Acts iv. 6; Joseph. J. W. v. xii. 2; and Reland's Catalogue of the High Priests

in Whiston, Ant. xx. viii. 5, note. These tombs were mostly in gardens, attached to country-houses; so that Annas, one of his relatives, may be well supposed to have had a country-house on this hill.

³ Bartlett's Walks, p. 59. Compare Bib. Res. i. 485.

⁴ Bib. Res. i. p. 484, &c.

“Pool of the Bath” within the city, a fact which is strongly against their great antiquity. The Pool of the Sultan is said by William of Tyre to have been celebrated in the times of the kings of Judah⁵; but as he does not refer to any passages in Holy Scripture, it is impossible to determine what was the Christian tradition at that period relating to the pool. The earliest distinct notice which we have of it is in the account of the rebuilding of the walls after the Babylonish captivity, in a passage which also assigns the “Sepulchres of David” to the part of Mount Zion above the pool, where they are still found⁶. It has there no proper name given it, being described merely as “the pool that was made.” The modern tradition which would make this the bath of Bathsheba, is worthy of no consideration; nor has any satisfactory reason been assigned for its present native appellation, which, however, would probably be supplied by an inscription on the Saracenic fountain⁷ at the south of the pool. This fountain, which is now dry, appears to have been formerly supplied by a branch of the aqueduct, which has already been frequently alluded to, but which here demands a fuller notice.

It formerly conveyed the waters of three fountains from the neighbourhood of Solomon’s Pools to the Holy City. It is now in ruins, but the water still runs as far as Bethlehem, and the aqueduct may be traced along the steep mountainsides, throughout the whole of its winding course. The level is preserved almost throughout, by following the natural formation of the ground, not by artificial contrivance, nor is the construction of the aqueduct at all remarkable for the solidity of its masonry. It is in some parts composed of earthen pipes, roughly covered with stones, but elsewhere

⁵ VIII. ii. p. 747.

⁶ Nehem. iii. 16.

⁷ Reported to have been built by

Sultan Suleiman Ben Selim, A.D.
1520–26, from whom the pool may
derive its name.

the channel is formed by casing the stones with cement. On reaching the Valley of Hinnom, its waters were divided into two courses, one of which, as has been observed, crossed the valley below the Birket es-Sultan, while the other, after skirting that pool on its west side, was carried over nine low arches, which still remain in a state of decent repair¹.

There is on this part of the aqueduct an Arabic inscription, which will well introduce an inquiry into its history, which has been hitherto much involved in obscurity. It is to the following effect: "In the name of the most merciful God, our Lord the Sultan, el-Melik en-Nâssir, the Lord of the Faith and of the Faithful, Mohammed, son of the Sultan el-Melik el-Mansoon Kelâoon, ordered this blessed aqueduct to be built." Unfortunately where the date was, the stone is broken, but Sultan Mohammed, Ibn Kelâoon, one of the Baharite dynasty in Egypt, reigned between 693 and 741 of the Heg. (1294—1340, A.D.)² The first direct allusion to it in Christian writers occurs about this time³, and it is most improbable that, had it existed at an earlier period, it would have been passed over by the chroniclers of the crusades, who are so particular in their account of all that relates to the waters of Jerusalem. Yet there is a much earlier notice, which might be taken to refer to this part of the aqueduct⁴,

¹ Its further course round Mount Zion and along its eastern ridge within the modern city, where it is still to be traced under the foundation of the buildings, until it crosses the Tyropæon by the causeway, may be seen in the Plan, and has been already in part described. (See above, p. 275.) Messrs. Woolcott and Tipping explored the part within the city for 400 or 500 feet along Mount Zion, but could not reach the causeway. See *Biblioth. Sacr. Pt.*

i. pp. 31, 2.

² I am here indebted to Dr Schultz, his Prussian majesty's worthy representative at Jerusalem.

³ "The Itineraries of William of Baldensel and Rudolph de Suchem." (A. D. 1336—1350.) *Rob. l. c.*

⁴ Adamnanus, circ. 697, i. 17, (cited by Dr Robinson, p. 516, n. 2) mentions an arched bridge of stone, crossing the valley in this place.

and which, independently of an ancient and well-authenticated Jewish tradition, would dispose me to believe that the Sultan here named did not originally build, but only restore the aqueduct after it had continued some centuries in ruins.

The Jewish writers, in their records of the second temple, with one voice relate that "in the way betwixt Hebron and Jerusalem, is the Fountain of Etam, from whence the waters are conveyed by pipes into the great pool at Jerusalem⁵" for the uses of the temple. And there was towards the south of the temple-area, a place called "the coming down of the water⁶," corresponding to the situation of the causeway, by which the present aqueduct is carried to the haram. Now Etam or Etham, Josephus tells us, was the name of that place where the pleasure-gardens of the great king Solomon were situated⁷; and Holy Scripture would teach us to look for the gardens in the neighbourhood of the pools, which were constructed with a view to the gardens, as Solomon himself informs us⁸. It is a most gratifying fact, that not only has the *name* of this interesting locality been *perpetuated among the natives to this day*, but the very spot is still marked by *gardens*, the largest and most luxuriant that are to be met with in the whole of the mountain-region of Judea. The three Pools of Solomon, *on the road to Hebron*, which need not be here described, are situated at the head of a valley named Wady Etân, and the aqueduct, which derives its supply of water from three tributary fountains, has its

⁵ See Lightfoot, Chorographical Inquiry, cap. v. sect. 5, and *Fragmenta Topograph.* cap. ii. sect. 1, and Prospect of the Temple, cap. xxiii.

⁶ Prospect, l. c.

⁷ Ant. viii. vii. 3.

⁸ Eccles. ii. 5, 6. "I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted

trees in them of all kinds of fruits: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees." The distance of these gardens of Etham from Jerusalem is stated by Josephus at 50 furlongs, which exactly coincides with the existing gardens.

proper commencement below the lowest of these pools, from whence it runs along the western side of Wady Etân to Bethlehem. In the bed of the valley, below the aqueduct, is another copious fountain, "Ain Etân," and around this fountain are the gardens just mentioned¹.

This remarkable and unlooked-for corroboration of the Jewish tradition must compel us to believe that there was an aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon to the Temple at Jerusalem during the later years of its existence. It need not prove more than this, for the Talmudic descriptions of the Holy House are obviously gathered from writings which date from the latest period of its existence; and there is not the slightest intimation of such an aqueduct in the Sacred Records, or in the Apocrypha. I am disposed to believe that this work was originally planned and constructed by a Roman procurator, whose name has obtained a bad notoriety in the Christian Church; for among other tyrannical acts, whereby Pontius Pilate offended the prejudices and excited the indignation of the Jews, it is mentioned that he expended the sacred treasure called "Corban" on aqueducts, whereby he brought water to the city from a distance of four hundred furlongs². Now if this language may be taken to refer to the whole length of the aqueduct, as from the nature of the case I think it must, and not to the actual distance of its commencement in a direct line from the city, then it will very well describe the existing aqueduct, which must certainly traverse nearly eight times the direct distance between its commencement and termination: nor am I aware of any historical notices or present traces of an aqueduct in any

¹ Visited and fully explored by the writer, Sept. 20, 1842, and April 29, 1843.

² Joseph. J. W. II. ix. 4. The

words are *κατ'ἤγε δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων σταδίων* but some copies read *τριακοσίων*, and others *διακοσίων*. See Hudson's Annot. in loc.

other quarter which could be referred to Pilate, though it seems probable that some remains of a work so large, and comparatively so recent, should have continued to Christian times. Might it not be that the final designation of this supply of water to the temple was the governor's plea for the application of the sacred fund to this undertaking?

It has been already remarked, that in the event of a siege this aqueduct could only have been a boon to the enemy³, and hence it is probable that it would be cut off by the besieged on the first outbreak of hostilities. This will account for its disappearance from history for so many centuries, until it was restored by Sultan Mohammed at the commencement of the fourteenth century, as the inscription testifies.

Before leaving this quarter, it will be well to take some notice of the Tombs of David, which occupy that part of Mount Zion immediately above the pool and aqueduct which have last engaged our attention. That such was their position is clear from the language of Nehemiah lately referred to, in his account of the rebuilding of the walls⁴, where "the sepulchres of David and the pool that was made" are placed together between "Siloah" and "the house of the mighty;" which last appears to have occupied the south-west angle of Zion⁵, as "the armoury at the turning of the wall" was situated at the north-west angle, and was afterwards converted into the Hippic tower, and is still represented by the Castle of David⁶.

³ See above, p. 378.

⁴ Nehem. iii. 16—19.

⁵ The description determines it to this neighbourhood, and I cannot help thinking that the scarpèd rock on the brow of Mount Zion at this angle, noticed also by Dr Robinson, (Bib. Res. i. 459), may have formed the

foundation of this strong-hold.

⁶ There can be no question that "the armoury at the turning of the wall," mentioned by Nehemiah, i. c. is "the tower" which king Uzziah built "at the turning of the wall," 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; and since it must have been near this spot, as is evident

But the passage of Nehemiah further proves that the Tomb of David was recovered after the Captivity, and from this period we have occasional notices of it until near the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is plain that the Chaldeans had no knowledge of its locality, or at least not of the treasures which it was reputed to contain, or they would not have abstained from the plunder. It was reserved for a high priest to violate its sanctity, and to ransack its treasures. Hyrcanus, the son of Simon the Maccabee, and his successor in the princely and priestly dignity, is said to have spoiled it of three thousand talents, which will account for the disappointment of Herod the Great, who, when he had penetrated these mansions of the dead, found nothing to satisfy his cupidity, save some furniture of gold, and other precious treasures, which he carried away¹. Josephus adds that his attempt to explore the inner recesses of the sepulchre, where the bodies of David and Solomon were deposited, was defeated by supernatural agency, and that, in a fit of compunction for the desecration, he erected a white marble monument at the entrance to the sepulchres. Later still we have an inspired testimony to the preservation of the tomb, where St Peter declares of the prophet David, that "he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day²."

From this period it disappears from the notices of Jerusalem for many centuries, until it is again referred to by a Jewish writer of the eleventh century. I am not aware that the slightest traces are to be found of the tradition for these thousand years; and this would form a strong presumption against its preservation or recovery, unless the following may

from Nehemiah's description, there can be little doubt that it was on this site that Herod built his angular tower Hippicus, as he converted the old Baris

into Antonia.

¹ See Joseph. Ant. XIII. viii. 4; and XVI. vii. 1.

² Acts ii. 29.

be admitted as a probable solution of the difficulty. It appeared in the last chapter how little regard the Christians paid to the objects of Jewish devotion in the city; even the site of Solomon's Temple was neglected or insulted. Probably they would not regard with very peculiar interest the Tomb of David, especially if the interest of the locality in this view happened to be eclipsed by another association of more deep importance to Christians. Such does indeed seem to have been the fact; and indeed at this day the tradition of the Tomb of David, though universally received among the Christians, is not *the tradition* which attracts their affections to the spot. The Jews and Mahommedans reverence it in this view, the Christians connect it with important events in the history of our Lord and his Church³.

From a very early period they have been taught, rightly or wrongly, to regard a chamber in the pile of buildings surrounding the tomb, as the upper room consecrated by the institution of the perfecting Sacrament of our Redemption, where also our Lord appeared to the assembled apostles after his resurrection, and where the Holy Ghost descended visibly on the believers on the day of Pentecost. It is related by Epiphanius that this building, and a few others in its vicinity, escaped destruction on the desolation by Titus, and that this chamber was the church of the faithful after their return from Pella. Epiphanius wrote towards the close of the fourth century, and his testimony may at least be taken to

³ The Προσκυνητάριον, or Greek pilgrim's guide, mentions the following events as having taken place here: our Lord's last Passover, with the institution of the Holy Supper, and the washing of the disciples' feet; His appearance after the resurrection, and the conviction of doubting Thomas;

the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost; and the residence and death of the Blessed Virgin. Other accounts mention the burial of St Stephen. The Greek work mentions, finally, the tombs of David, with undoubting faith, but does not dwell upon it. pp. 83, 4.

prove that the Christian tradition at that date assigned to this church a far higher antiquity than to the Martyrium of the Resurrection; and therefore we may well believe that, although the Bordeaux pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem while Constantine's church was in the course of erection, makes no express mention of the building, he intended it to be understood in his notice of the blood-stained column on Mount Zion, which St Jerome teaches us to connect with this church; while the intermediate reference to it by St Cyril is a strong confirmation of the evidence to its high antiquity¹. From this time it is duly noted by all Christian writers among the sacred localities of Jerusalem, but, as was observed, simply for its association with those important incidents in the history of the Christian Church which have just been mentioned.

It is during the occupation of Jerusalem by the crusaders that we find the notice of the Tomb of David, above alluded to; which may serve to connect it with this spot. The following remarkable story is told by Benjamin of Tudela. On Mount Zion are the sepulchres of the house of David, and those of the kings who reigned after him. In consequence of the following circumstance, however, this place is hardly to be recognized at present. Fifteen years ago one of the walls of the place of worship on Mount Zion fell down, which the patriarch ordered the priest to repair. He commanded to take stones from the original wall of Zion, and to employ them for that purpose, which command was obeyed. Two labourers, who were engaged in digging stones from the very foundation

¹ The references are given by Dr Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 357, n. 2, 3. Even this writer says, "It is apparently the same spot, and perhaps the

same building referred to by Cyril in the 4th century, as the church of the apostles, where they were said to be assembled on the day of Pentecost."

of the walls of Zion, happened to meet with one which formed the mouth of a cavern. They agreed to enter the cave and to search for treasure, and in pursuit of this object they penetrated to a large hall supported by pillars of marble, encrusted with gold and silver, before which stood a table with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of David king of Israel, to the left of which they saw that of Solomon, and of all the kings of Judah who were buried there. They further saw locked chests, and desired to enter the hall to examine them, but a blast of wind, like a storm, issued forth from the mouth of the cavern, and prostrated them almost lifeless on the ground. They lay in this state until evening, when they heard a voice commanding them to rise up and go forth from the place. They proceeded terror-stricken to the patriarch, and informed him of what had occurred. He summoned Rabbi Abraham el Constantini, a pious ascetic, one of the mourners of the downfall of Jerusalem, and caused the two labourers to repeat the occurrence in his presence. Rabbi Abraham hereupon informed the patriarch that they had discovered the sepulchres of the house of David and of the kings of Judah. The patriarch ordered the place to be walled up, so as to hide it effectually from every one to the present day. The narrator closes his account with these words: "*The above-mentioned Rabbi Abraham told me all this.*" This is a staggering assertion from one so trustworthy as Benjamin of Tudela generally is², and the circumstantiality and consistency of the narrative is remarkable for a writer of that age. Without then attempting to determine the proportions of truth and fiction in this marvellous story, I would offer the following observations.

² See a candid estimate of this writer by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. III. Appendix I. p. 7.

Benjamin of Tudela says that in his day, soon after A.D. 1160, "there was no building on Zion save one Christian church, doubtless the Cœnaculum¹;" so that this must have been the church which the patriarch was wishing to repair. The stones for the work would of course be taken from that part of the ruined wall of Zion nearest to the building. The nature of the ground shews that the wall must have passed at no great distance from the Cœnaculum, on this part of Mount Zion², while the language of Nehemiah, above adduced, further proves that the wall of Zion passed near the sepulchres of David on this same quarter. I may again repeat what has been said of other sites, that these coincidences are very extraordinary, if the traditions are nothing more than random guesses, and that this agreement of the localities is, on this supposition, still more "singular" than the "juxtaposition of the two superstitions³."

The account here given of its concealment of the tombs, both before and after their accidental discovery in the 12th century, would explain their disappearance from the annals of history for so many centuries before⁴, and for the silence of the chroniclers of the crusades after this period. The earliest intimation of their alleged recovery by the Mahomedans is in the 15th century⁵, while the Minorites were still

¹ Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 359, n. 1.

² See Plan of Jerusalem for the probable course of this wall.

³ Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 357.

⁴ See two very curious notices of the sepulchres of David, in Epiphanius advers. Hæres. Lib. XI. p. 702, and in the Paschal Chronicle, p. 155, (quoted by Reland sub voce *Gabaoth*. Palest. p. 770), which imply that some few knew the entrance to them in those times.

⁵ Dr Robinson dates the first notice of the tombs, 1479. B. R. I. 358. But Sir J. Maundeville, 1322—56, speaks of David, Solomon, and his successors, being buried in Mount Zion, in a manner which may perhaps imply that their sepulchre was known by tradition in his day. p. 111, ed. 1727. The Mahomedan history of the temple at Jerusalem is silent on the point, although it mentions all for which Jerusalem was celebrated among the Moslems.

in occupation of the church and convent of Zion, from which they were subsequently expelled in the 16th century. What the Mahommedans have to shew no Christian knows, but the Sheikh of the "Tomb of David" does certainly profess to be guardian of a *chamber below ground*, which is worth seeing. The Latin monks still continue the practice of washing the pilgrims' feet in the Cœnaculum on Maundy Thursday, in commemoration of one of the passages in scripture history, which they, in common with all the Christians of Jerusalem, believe to have been transacted in this chamber.

There remains one other locality in this part on which it will be necessary to observe very briefly, and that is the town-house of Caiaphas the high priest, where our Lord was judged. It stands between the tomb of David and the city-wall, very near the Zion gate. It is now in the hands of the Armenians, and is, as usual, adorned with legendary stories of such a description as have served more than any arguments to bring the ancient traditions into contempt with those who have either no temper or no opportunity to qualify themselves, by a careful examination of evidence, for the delicate task of separating truth from fiction; a course which, although it is not always easy or pleasant, yet seems to be due to those who have not only preserved to us these comparatively unimportant particulars, but have been the appointed instruments for handing down the precious deposit of Christian faith committed to them for this end.

With regard to this particular tradition, it is more unsatisfactory than any which has been hitherto examined, because while it is certain that the memorial of the house of Caiaphas was delivered down from high antiquity, yet the tradition does not appear to have been permanently fixed by any building until the time of the Crusades. That the site

of the house of Caiaphas was known in this quarter, is attested by the Bordeaux pilgrim, (A. D. 333), but that there was no church on the spot in the 12th century, is apparent from the language of Benjamin of Tudela already cited; and it is not until the 14th century that Marinus Sanutus, and Sir John Maundeville about the same date, witness to the existence of a chapel marking the spot¹.

There is yet one antiquity without the walls at some distance from this spot which deserves notice; namely, the "Tombs of the Kings," to the north of the city, on the right of the Nablouse road. These excavations have been so often described, and of late so well delineated, that it will be unnecessary here to enter into a minute account of them². I wish merely to make a few remarks on their probable origin, which Dr Robinson has attributed to Helena³, whose monuments, so celebrated in antiquity, must certainly have stood at no great distance from this spot. It is very unfortunate for this hypothesis that the only two features by which we know that her sepulchre was distinguished, have entirely disappeared. These were three marble pyramids, and a door which opened by some mechanical contrivance: for however extravagant the language of Pausanias undoubtedly is, yet thus much at least must be concluded from it, if his statement be worth anything; and I cannot think that his notice

¹ Itin. Hierosol. p. 152. "Paret locus ubi fuit domus Caiphæ," quoted by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. i. 359, n. 2. Does this necessarily imply that the house of Caiaphas was not still in existence? Marinus Sanutus, III. xiv. 8; Sir J. Maundeville, p. 111; both circ. 1320.

² The reader is referred to Bib. Res. i. 528, &c. for a description, accompanied with a good Plan, and for the references; and to Bartlett's Walks, 141, 143, for some very faithful sketches.

³ This theory, however, is not quite new. It was started by Pococke and adopted by Clarke.

of this single door could be intended to describe those many-panelled doors of stone which separated between the chambers in the Tombs of the Kings, and which do not appear to have had any mechanism connected with them⁴. But this is not the strongest objection to the theory.

Helena was the widowed queen of Monobazus, otherwise called Bazeus, king of Adiabene. Having with her son Izates, who succeeded to the throne, become a proselyte to Judaism, she fixed her residence at Jerusalem for purposes of devotion, where, during the prevalence of the famine predicted by Agabus, in the days of Claudius Cæsar, she relieved the poor by her unbounded liberality⁵; and having resolved to end her days there, she prepared her sepulchre during her life, as was the custom of the times. But it is surely difficult to imagine what could induce a widowed lady, self-exiled from her home and family, to prepare for her private sepulture, in a land of strangers, an extensive series of excavations, containing not fewer than thirty receptacles for the dead; and although it is true that she shared her tomb, by accident, with her son Izates, yet the language of Pausanias, representing it as a single tomb⁶, would hardly have been used to describe the numerous grottoes which are now under notice. I do not think that the single argument adducible in support of the hypothesis, can avail to set aside these weighty objections.

⁴ One of these was still hanging in Maundrell's time. See *Journey*, under March 28, p. 77. Their fragments are scattered over the ground of the chambers.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. xx. ii. See Acts xi. 28, and Euseb. H. E. ii. xii.

⁶ Josephus says, τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, (J. W. v. ii. 2, iv. 2,) obviously

with reference to the three pyramids described in Ant. xx. iv. 3. So Eusebius mentions them, εἰσέτι νῦν στήλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δέκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. But Pausanias, who alone mentions the tomb properly so called, always uses the singular τάφος. See the passage in Bib. Res. Vol. i. n. xxvii. p. 569.

The argument is this: St Jerome, in his account of Paula's journey to Jerusalem, represents that as she approached the city, she had the mausoleum of Helena on her left; and that supposing she approached by the present Nablouse road, she must have had the Tombs of the Kings to the left; therefore these are identical. But admitting the assumption that "the great northern road at present is unquestionably the same that it ever was¹," still it is far from clear that Paula reached the city by that route; for even if St Jerome had designed to recall the exact order of her progress, after the lapse of so many years, which seems improbable, yet the abrupt break in his narrative, immediately before her arrival at Jerusalem, allows room for the supposition that she had visited other localities after that last mentioned, and so leaves it uncertain from what point she last came².

What more probable account then may be given of these remarkable excavations? They may still, I think, be allowed to retain their old name, and be identified with the "royal caves" of Josephus³, which must clearly have been in this vicinity, and those "royal caves" were probably the same as the monuments of Herod. For these caves were east of the monuments of Helena, between them and the Fuller's monument, which last occupied the north-east angle of Bezetha.

¹ I do not think this demonstrable, but probable.

² Gabaa, or "Gibeah of Benjamin," whose site is not determined, is the place last mentioned in connexion with Judges xix. &c., and then he proceeds: "Ad lævam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto...ingressa est Hierosolymam," &c. St Hieron. Epist. lxxxvi. *Epitaph. Paula, ad Eustoch.* Vol. iv. Pt. II. p. 673, Ed. Bened. Dr Robinson,

with strange inconsistency, places Gibeah where it certainly would not be approached from the road in question. If this town was where he places it, (Bib. Res. II. 114) and Paula came direct from thence to Jerusalem, as he seems to suppose, the tombs of the kings must have been left *far on the right*. See his Plan of the Environs.

³ J. W. v. iv. 2. σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν.

But Herod's monuments must have been some distance west of the Fuller's monument, for the camp of the Assyrians was interposed⁴: so that their situation may be supposed to correspond with that of the "royal caves," as it certainly does, very remarkably, with that of the "Tombs of the Kings;" while it is further obvious how entirely suitable these sepulchres would be to the magnificent ideas of the great Herod, whose ambitious hope it was to be the founder of a dynasty of kings; and the style of the architecture would well agree with the period of his reign. If this view be correct, the monuments of queen Helena must have been west of the caves, between them and the tower of Psephinus, which occupied the north-west corner of the New City⁵. And there is an area of native rock immediately to the right of the road to Neby Samwîl, where sepulchral excavations may be seen, among which I am disposed to think that her resting-place is to be sought.

Before leaving the Tombs of the Kings, it may be well to mention another excavation immediately without the entrance to the court-yard of rock, through which they are approached. I am not aware that the cave in question, which is difficult of access, has been noticed by any travellers, nor can I throw any light on its uses. It is of irregular form, much larger than any of the chambers in the neighbouring tombs. The roof of rock is supported by an unshapen mass of the same, which has been left standing;

⁴ Above, pp. 16, 17. See Josephus l. c. for the position of the royal caves; and for the monuments of Herod, J. W. v. iii. 2; and xii. 2. In the latter passage the historian uses the singular; but not to mention the plural in the

former passage, a single *μνημεῖον* is no more inconsistent with many *τάφοι*, than a single *τάφος* with many *μνημεῖα*.

⁵ Joseph. J. W. v. iv. 2, 3.

and the ground, which is covered with loose stones, descends rapidly within, *i. e.* in the direction of the valley. It occurred to me whether this cave might not be in some way connected with the Serpent Pool, which adjoined the monuments of Herod, and whether the upper out-flow of the fountain of Gihon might not have been stopped in this place. But as I could not find sufficient data on which to ground any probable hypothesis, it will be better to leave it, in the hope that further investigation of this unexplored cavern may lead to more satisfactory results.

I have now passed in review all the localities of importance, whose memory is cherished by Christians for their connexion with the gospel history, and have, I trust, made it to appear that these traditions are entitled to more respect than it is the custom of English and American travellers to attach to them¹, and that a distinction is to be drawn between those which are derived from a remote antiquity, and those which may be proved to have originated during the Frank domination. I have endeavoured, moreover, to throw some additional light on other antiquities in and around the Holy City. In the course of the investigation I have been forced to abandon many preconceived notions, and to re-examine many former conjectures, and the result has certainly been much more satisfactory to myself than I ever ventured to hope; nor am I aware of any objection to the theories pro-

¹ An American Wesleyan traveller, who "has bestowed especial attention upon the very able and learned argument of Dr Robinson (on the subject of the Holy Sepulchre), without, however, being able to adopt his conclusions," speaks of "*English travellers*"

as "certainly the most incredulous and anti-catholic in the world." Surely his American brother will be justly indignant at being robbed of the palm which he has done his best to merit. *Travels in the Holy Land, by Dr Olin, Vol. II. p. 277.*

pounded, except those which I have noticed and endeavoured to remove. Full satisfaction on many of the points could only be obtained by very extensive excavations in and about the city. But although the scripture interest of the questions involved would fully repay the trouble and expense of such undertakings, there is one great, but perhaps not insurmountable obstacle: only a few months ago a learned friend, deeply interested in the archæology of the City of David, and every way qualified to carry on the investigation with success, thus writes: "The fanaticism of the Mahomedans, lately raised anew from its slumbers, prevents me from going freely about the interesting places of the city." But the same authority which opens the mosks of the Turkish capital to the curiosity of Franks, might remove the obstructions at Jerusalem; and a firman from the Sultan might probably be procured, if applied for in a proper manner. His Majesty the King of Prussia has conferred an important benefit on one branch of history, by the expedition sent to Egypt under the direction of Dr Lipsius, with full permission of the Pasha. Would not the antiquities of Jerusalem present a field equally worthy of royal munificence? or would the Ottoman Porte prove more untractable than the viceroy of Egypt? The area of the Mosk of Omar, of course, may not be violated—it were vain to expect it, and perhaps even wrong to ask it; but much might be done without trenching on the sacred enclosure, as this and the two preceding chapters will have proved. Meanwhile I trust that the reader will be able to rest in the conclusions which I have endeavoured to establish, and for which some ground of probability has been shewn; and because, on a subject so involved in obscurity, it must needs be that many errors will be committed before the whole truth is brought to light, I will

add, not more or *less* for my own sake than for the sake of others who have gone before me, that such errors ought not to be deemed unpardonable, if they have arisen from no want of candour or of diligence, and if they are honestly acknowledged and corrected as soon as they are discovered.



Pool of Siloam.



Arch of the Ecce Homo.

CHAPTER IV.

MODERN JERUSALEM AND ITS INHABITANTS.

THE Christian pilgrim who approaches Jerusalem for the first time will probably be disappointed to find that his emotions on the first sight of a city, associated in his mind from his earliest infancy with all that is most sacred, are so much less intense than he anticipated, and that he can look on Mount Olivet and Mount Zion with feelings, certainly not of indifference, but of much less painful interest than he imagined possible, when he thought on them at a distance. The truth is, the events transacted here are so great in every view, that the mind cannot at once grasp them; but is, as it were, stupified by the effort. It takes time to realize the truth that this is the home of Scripture History, the cradle of the Chris-

tian Church. But the feeling of attachment to the Holy City and its sacred localities will soon be formed, and will be deepened by time, to a calm *satisfaction*, a peaceful resting in it as the home of one's affections, which no other spot on earth can impart. For there is a halo about Jerusalem, an atmosphere which one drinks in, not only on the mountains around, but even amid its crumbling ruins, which has an untold charm; and he who shall have resided there for months or years, and has known what it is to suffer in body and *in mind*, amid the scenes of His sufferings, and has enjoyed the solace of hearty affection from true friends, and a higher consolation still; such an one alone can appreciate the privilege of a residence there, and will not readily forget the parting pang with which the last farewell was accompanied.

But I have to imagine the pilgrim approaching the city. If he is journeying from the west, as most pilgrims do, he will come in sight of the city about a mile from its gates, and will have the least interesting view which it presents—merely a dull line of wall, with the Mount of Olives rising above. He will perhaps have read of the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of the city: it is sometimes said to resemble a city of the dead. Travellers who have so written must have been singularly unfortunate in the time of their entrance; for on a bright evening, at any time of the year, nothing can well be imagined more lively than the scene without the Jaffa gate. It is then that the inhabitants, of whatever nation and whatever faith, walk out “to drink the air,” as they express it, and the various companies may be seen sauntering about, or reclining on the ground. Here will be seen members of the two large families into which the Jews are now divided, the Ashkenazim and Sephardim¹, the latter easily distinguish-

¹ Ashkenazim; the Jews of Russia, | dim; the Jews of Spain and the shores
Germany, &c. See Gen. x. 3. Sephar- | of the Mediterranean.

able from the former by their brighter and more intelligent looks ; and here the Greek monks of the Great Convent, and other native or foreign Christians, and groups of native women and children sitting by the way-side, or amusing themselves with the favourite exercise of swinging under the olive-trees at the head of the Valley of Hinnom. The appearance of the females indeed is somewhat spectral, for a white sheet thrown loosely over their handsome dresses, and their yellow boots, is all that is distinguishable ; but the merry laugh may be heard among them, and, with the music of their “ tinkling ornaments,” would serve to convince the stranger that they were veritable daughters of Eve. He will see little of the desolations of Jerusalem here : but let him enter the gates, and the delusion which its compact and well-built walls, and the appearance of its inhabitants, may have produced, will be quickly dispelled. He no sooner enters the city than desolation stares him in the face. The citadel on his right hand, which shewed fair from a distance, is a ruin and patchwork—a Roman tower, with mediæval additions and Turkish debasements, erected on a massive foundation of Jewish architecture. On his left he will have an open space covered with ruins, and as he passes through the streets he will find scarcely a house that is not a ruin, and in some parts huge hulks of massive wrecks ; as for example, the Hospital of the Knights of St John, and the so-called Palace of Helena. But indeed this may be said of almost any eastern city. It is the peculiar province of the Turks to lay waste what other ages have built up. But let him examine more closely. He will find traces of former greatness, and even grandeur, here and there. Handsome Saracenic fountains, now dry ; some few traces of Gothic architecture, more of Roman, and here and there fragments of a Greek cornice or capital, lying neglected on the side of the street, or built into modern hovels, without any

regard to their proper position, and shafts of columns of costly marbles jutting out from the walls in various parts, all attesting its ancient greatness. Or let him repair to any spot near the walls, where excavations may perchance be carrying on for the erection of a new building, and he will see, many feet below the present surface of the ground, massive stones tossed about in the wildest confusion, and rubble to the depth of forty or fifty feet on the summit of the hills, and of untold depth in the valleys beneath; and he will easily believe that he is in the oldest city in the world, which has undergone more vicissitudes than any other in the annals of history.

But these are not the ruins of Jerusalem. Let him repair to the 'Jews' quarter on Mount Zion, and there he will see the living "stones of the sanctuary poured out in the top of every street. The precious sons of Zion, comparable unto fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter!" For, if the dwellings and the synagogues of the Sephardim bear witness, as do their countenances, to a higher state of moral culture than he had been led to expect, and if they are living in comparative security, as subjects of the Turkish government, after having been hunted like dogs from kingdoms which called themselves Christian, yet are they but strangers in their own land, speaking a foreign language, and subject to the caprice of foreign lords. But the other section, the Ashkenazim, will exhibit all the symptoms of wretchedness which an acquaintance with their European brethren had taught him to expect. The same haggard and careworn expression of countenance, the same anxious eye, an index of that "astonishment of heart," which is the threatened curse of their unbelief. Their very presence here is a memorial of the condition of their outcast brethren, scattered abroad in every nation under heaven, and whose representatives they are, and by whose alms they are supported

in "the city of their fathers' sepulchres." Or if he can trust his feelings, and consider it no desecration to intrude on a scene of human sorrow with which he may not sympathize, and which he cannot relieve, he may follow the steps of many travellers to the Jews' Wailing-place, on the appointed day, and there he will probably witness, among many cases of carelessness and listless indifference, apparent instances of deep mental agony¹, for which he will know that nothing but the Gospel can afford adequate relief; and he will surely join in the petition of the third Collect for Good Friday with a deeper meaning than before, and desire more earnestly than ever that the attempts for their conversion, however and by whomsoever made, may be crowned with perfect success.

Still these are not the ruins of Jerusalem. Let him turn to the children of the "heavenly Zion," "the New Jerusalem," "the mother of us all," and the First and Second Collects for the Great Fast will come home with equal force.

Let us suppose him present in Jerusalem during the holy week; he will feel a curiosity to witness the ceremonies in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—let him go by all means, at least if he can go to mourn, not to mock or to triumph over the scenes which will be there enacted. If he arrive at the great gates of the Church about sunset, he will find them closed for a few minutes while the Moslem guardian and his attendants perform their devotions. A small window in the door will allow him to watch their ceremony, and he may learn a lesson of outward propriety and decorum from the infidels, which he will look for in vain among the worshippers within. On his admission, the first object which will excite his astonishment and horror, will be the Turkish soldiers of

¹ I was never at the Jew's Wailing-place on Friday, for reasons hinted at in the text, but I remember to have

been an unwilling spectator of one of these paroxysms in a young Jew, in one of the synagogues at Hebron.

the garrison standing with their bayonets fixed, in various parts of the sacred precincts, and about the Holy Cave itself. If he enquire the reason of this dreadful profanation, he will be informed that the Latins have requested it as a protection against molestation from the Greeks! The Latin ceremonies in commemoration of this day, so startling to the English traveller, have been frequently described, and will not here be detailed¹. It is true that the coldness of our northern temperaments, and our inhabitude to a vivid picturing of the realities of our Blessed Lord's life, render difficult any sweeping opinion on so solemn a subject. Still, to state my own individual feeling, when I remember that it is before infidels as well as before Christians—and these not merely men of holy lives, but a mingled and lukewarm multitude—I much fear lest there be a deep savour of irreverence and idolatrous show in these ceremonies, wherein the most awful scene that the earth ever witnessed is annually acted on Mount Calvary in a representation of painful reality. Far be my words from prejudicing any who may hereafter assist at these rites; and if perchance the term idolatrous fall gratingly on the ears of some, who “with keen faith and loving spirits” have followed in this procession, and, “piercing beneath the symbols, have seen nought but their Lord,” be it remembered that there are words and topics, full of meaning to the devout, which it were profanation to cast unveiledly before the cold or profane; and if so with words, surely no less caution does reverence prompt in acts of such awful import as that which we have been considering.

Or again, let an unbeliever join the throng in the same

¹ They are at this day exactly the same as they were in Maundrell's time, 1697. See under date Friday, March 26, p. 72, &c. Sandys' account

is much shorter (p. 132,) but the ceremonies were apparently the same. (1611.)

church, on the Easter Eve of the Greeks, when the imposture of the holy fire has been practised for centuries by the highest dignitaries of all the Christian communions in Jerusalem, though it is now confined to the Greeks and Armenians²; and he will witness, not only the most deplorable and degrading superstition in this exhibition, but a scene of wild confusion and disorder “very unfit for that sacred place, and berter becoming bacchanals than Christians³.” Not unfrequently on this and other occasions in the tumultuous processions of the rival communions, severe conflicts take place about the very Sepulchre, and blood is shed on both sides. It is a heavy penalty which the present generation of ecclesiastics are paying for the deceptions of former generations, that they cannot discontinue with safety, nor retain without offence, this most scandalous abuse of an ancient and significant ceremony. In its original intention and use it appears to have been nothing more than a very instructive representation of a great truth, a parable in action relating to the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. On Good Friday all the lamps which had been kept burning at the sacred places throughout the year were extinguished; on the morning of Easter-day they were relighted by fire brought from the Holy Cave. But the figurative meaning has been lost sight of long ago in the pretended miracle, which has been unhappily claimed by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves: so that while all the respectable members of the Greek community now at Jerusalem make no scruple to acknowledge and deplore the imposture,

² This ceremony is first noticed, among the westerns, by Bernhard the monk, who visited Jerusalem circ. A. D. 870. (Poujoulat, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Vol. III. p. 110.) Dositheus has preserved a Greek notice of

it at the end of the same century. Mouravieff's *History of Jerusalem*, I. p. 340.

³ The words are Maundrell's. See under date Saturday, April 3. (p. 95.)

and are absolutely ashamed to take part in it; yet they dare not disavow it before the uninstructed multitude, lest they should shake their trust in the verities of the Christian faith, which have been confirmed to them by the authority of the same teachers, on whose credit they receive this lying wonder for a veritable miracle. It requires a larger measure of faith than they can exercise to believe that if the Church take care for the truth, Christ will take care for the Church; but that if it seek to support itself by a lie, it must not reckon on the support of His Almighty arm; and they are content to look forward to a time, indefinitely distant, when the pilgrim shall be sufficiently advanced in intelligence to allow of the discontinuance of this mockery, without endangering those great truths which they do truly hold¹.

But among all the exhibitions of the Christians in the Holy City, that which must most scandalize the infidels is their shameful divisions, accompanied with jealousies and heart-burnings, and not unfrequently attended with sanguinary quarrels and acts of violence, which call for the interference of the civil powers. The coloured Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a picture of the religious dissensions which afflict the Holy City, and present a perpetual stumbling-block to Jews and Mahommedans—one might almost say a standing argument against the truth of the religion which they profess; for if the unity and harmony of the Church be a note of the heavenly origin of the doctrine which it holds, the absence of these must obscure the evidence and hinder the progress of the gospel. The superstitious practices which have been mentioned are only obtruded on the notice of the Mahommedans

¹ One part of this ceremony has been discontinued for many years. A dove used to be let fly from the Holy

Cave at the time of the giving of the fire. The intention of this may be imagined, and need not be written.

occasionally, once or twice in the year, but the dissensions of the various sects fill the Holy City with jarring discord throughout the year. These disputes are carried to Constantinople, and submitted to the decision of the Ottoman Porte, to be ruled not according to the principles of justice and equity, but as bribery, or private influence, or political interests, may chance to prevail. One or two examples shall be given, which will serve better than words to manifest the feeling that exists between the rival churches.

The Greeks and Latins both enjoy the countenance of powerful European monarchs, whence they derive an importance at Constantinople, which, independent of this, they would not possess: the Armenians make up by their wealth what they lack in this respect, and are thus able to sway the decisions of the Porte. The Syrians and Copts are too poor and too insignificant to contend with these powerful rivals, but being in communion with the Armenians, they are for the most part identified with their interests and enjoy their protection; in return for which they are expected to submit to such spoliation as their protector thinks right to exact. The facts which shall now be mentioned, as a specimen merely of what has been going forward for centuries, have all occurred very recently.

The Armenians had possessed for some years a small monastery in the neighbourhood of the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives. The Greeks disputed their right to the locality, and obtained a verdict at Constantinople for the expulsion of the Armenians, not for their own establishment in their place. On the arrival of the firman, they assembled in a body by night, and tumultuously attacked the building, which they completely demolished, leaving the infidels in undisputed possession of the sacred locality! But the faults are not all on one side.

In the year 1842, the Greeks procured a firman for the reparation of the magnificent Church at Bethlehem, which had fallen into a state of miserable decay. The restoration was affected at considerable expense, and with as much regard to the original design as circumstances allowed. Among other repairs they restored the north transept, which is allotted to the Armenians, and the steps which lead down from their altar to the Holy Cave of the Nativity. Can it be believed that the Armenians applied for, and procured a firman to undo what the Greeks had done?

The lead on the dome which covers the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem having become decayed through time, the Greeks obtained permission to repair it. They actually laid in a large quantity of lead for that purpose, and commenced stripping the dome, when a counter-order arrived from the Turkish capital, prohibiting, or at least suspending the work. This obstruction had been interposed by the Latins, who have now the miserable satisfaction of seeing the sacred building fast falling to decay, with all the materials requisite for its repair close at hand.

These instances will suffice to show the bitter hostility which prevails among the various denominations of Christians in the Holy City; and they have been cited not in triumph, but in sorrow, with the hope that the sad exhibition may indirectly tend to the removal of such unhallowed strife from around the sacred precincts consecrated by the birth and death of the Prince of Peace. The ground of this violent opposition, even to the necessary repairs of the sacred fabrics, is the apprehension that the privilege of repair may result in the recognition of an exclusive possessory right on the part of the restorers. Thus the three most sacred sites have been for centuries the grand points of contention among the divided Churches, and the questions which these disgraceful

disputes suggested to our countryman, Maundrell, a century and a half ago, force themselves upon the mind at this day. "Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of the infidels? Or if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them? seeing, even in the present state of captivity they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity." Nay, I would even go further, and avow a conviction, forced upon me by such facts as these, and only confirmed by time, that the Turks are, for the present, the best and safest guardians of the holy places, and that until the Christians have laid aside their animosities, the control of an infidel, and therefore indifferent arbiter, will be necessary to restrain within some bounds those vindictive feuds which, even though kept in check, break out occasionally into acts of open and even fatal violence. It were frightful to contemplate the consequences of power being given into the hands of any one of the Christian bodies which now divide the Sacred City.

Of these it will be well to furnish some particulars more in detail, which will I hope be interesting to the reader. I shall commence with the Eastern Churches, among whom the Greeks will claim the first notice.

I. ORIENTALS.

1. *The Greeks.*

THE Holy Orthodox Church of the East still reckons four patriarchs, who exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the scattered ruins of those ancient churches in which the light of the Gospel shone with unclouded brightness, while the western world was shrouded in heathen darkness. Of these patriarchates, the last erected was that of Jerusalem. During the first ages of Christianity, the prelates of that city had

enjoyed no peculiar privileges, or prerogatives¹. Cæsarea of Palestine was then the capital of the province, and the seat of the government, and its bishop exercised metropolitan jurisdiction in the diocese of Jerusalem, dignity expressly reserved to him by the first Nicene Council². But the recovery of the sacred localities, and the erection of the Church of the Resurrection, which could not fail to attract the religious devotions of the Christians of that period, served by degrees to raise the importance of the see; and in the fourth general council the assembled Fathers consented to erect "the mother of all churches" into a fifth patriarchate.

In order to effect this, the metropolitan sees of Cæsarea and Scythopolis were detached from the jurisdiction of Antioch on the north, while Rabbath Moab and Petra of Arabia, were ceded by the patriarchate of Alexandria on the south. Besides this, several suffragans were attached to the patriarchal chair as peculiars, from the several dioceses of the various metropolitans, and others newly erected; by which means the chief pastor of the church of Jerusalem was invested with so much dignity as was considered suitable to the high title which had been conferred upon him, and reckoned in his subjection four metropolitan sees subdivided into 68 bishoprics, besides 25 suffragan bishops, independent of any authority, save only that of the patriarch³.

¹ "Hierosolymitana ecclesia usque ad tempora Justiniani sanctæ recordationis Augusti, episcopum habuit nullam vel modicam dignitatis prærogativam gaudentem." Will. Tyr. Lib. XXIII. p. 1045. What argument Dr Keith can find in this against episcopal government, I am at a loss to imagine, (Land of Israel, p. 189): surely a carriage and horses, a gold mitre and lawn sleeves,

are not necessary to the order; the essence is contained in the words "*episcopum habuit*." Presbyterians will do well not to look to Jerusalem for precedents for their novelties.

² See above, Part I. chap. iii.

³ William of Tyre, l. c. gives the catalogue. See also Reland's Palestine, Lib. I. capp. xxxiv. and xxxv. pp. 207, &c.

If we consider the various vicissitudes of this ancient church, the depopulation of the country, and the long domination of the infidels, it will be rather matter of surprise that so much of the wreck has escaped complete annihilation, than that the frame-work of the vessel has not been transmitted entire. The present patriarchate⁴, extending north and south from the mountains of Lebanon to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean on the west to the great desert on the east, embraces all the country described by the ancient names of Phœnicia, Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, Idumæa, and Arabia Petræa. It is divided into fourteen sees, but the vacancies are not regularly filled up, as the present circumstances of several of the dioceses can unhappily too well dispense with the residence of a bishop. Even in the case of those appointments which do take place, it is in most cases little better than a titular dignity, the holders of which reside in the great monastery of Constantine, at Jerusalem, only visiting their sees occasionally, as the exigences of their flocks require. The bishops of Ptolemais (Acre) and Beth-lehem are the only two permanently resident; the former of whom at present exercises spiritual functions in the neighbouring diocese of Nazareth, which has been vacant since the translation of the latter to the see which he now holds.

The patriarch himself has been non-resident for many years⁵. It is judged that he can better serve the interests of the church at the seat of the supreme government, and on this account he remains at Constantinople. He is there

⁴ For an account of the patriarchate, see Appendix.

⁵ The patriarch Theophanes, A. D. 1608—1641, first purchased a house with a church and gardens, which had formerly belonged to the princes Cantacuzene, situated in the part of Con-

stantinople called the Phanar. It was burnt down in 1649, restored by the merchants of Constantinople, enlarged and adorned by later patriarchs. It is still their usual residence, and they seldom visit Palestine. Mouravieff, cap. xl. ad fin.

assisted by an ecclesiastic of his own appointment, who eventually succeeds to the patriarchal dignity¹: but should he die without having nominated his successor, the election is made by "the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre." This religious college, whose chief seat is at Constantinople, consists of bishops, priests, or simply of monks, who are attached to the person of the patriarch, and act as his messengers in the affairs of the church. Their whole number is about 150. All have a voice in the election of the patriarch, and their decision is independent of any other authority, the œcumenical patriarch himself having no voice in it².

The patriarch, as indeed all the bishops, are invariably Greeks, mostly from the islands; and it is centuries since the natives were considered eligible to the higher offices of the church. But the apparent inconvenience of this arrangement is much obviated by the fact, that the pastors of the congregations are invariably natives. The charge of *injustice* which might be urged against their exclusion from the episcopal rank is not so easily answered, but the following may serve as an explanation. It is a rule of all the oriental churches to elect their bishops from the regular clergy; and it is reasonable to suppose that a practice so universally adopted was the result of experience of its advantages. The disorderly conduct of the native monks led to their exclusion from the principal monasteries about three centuries ago, and the natural result of this was their exclusion from the episcopal office, for which it is further alleged they had frequently proved themselves incompetent³.

¹ This practice was introduced by Germanus, the founder of the present Greek dynasty of bishops, to ensure the exclusion of native Syrians. Mouravieff, cap. xxxix.

² I learnt this in a conversation with the archimandrite Joel, at Jerusalem, August 19, 1842.

³ Germanus, a native of the Morea, but so great a proficient in the Arabic

This general sketch of the constitution of the patriarchate may be illustrated by its present condition. "The Most Blessed" Athanasius, who now occupies the patriarchal throne, the hundred and thirty-first in succession from St James, is upwards of ninety years old, and being incapacitated for the more active duties of his office by his advanced age, lives in literary retirement in one of the Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora, having delegated the cares of his office to his appointed successor. This is the very excellent and learned Hierotheus, archbishop of Mount Tabor, and for several years the legate of the patriarch at the court of Russia, in which appointment his amiable qualities and superior endowments won for him the affection and respect of all who knew him. I may be allowed to add, that the favourable report which I had heard of him in the East was abundantly confirmed by an interview with which I was honoured at Constantinople. He is a great friend to education, and has appointed to the school in the patriarchate at Jerusalem⁴ a truly excellent *Didaskalos*, Christodulos Kokkinakes, with whom I believe he has since associated another learned preceptor, besides filling up the office of preacher, which had become vacant by the death of its late occupant, with an able and eloquent priest.

The management of the internal affairs of the patriarchate is entrusted to two or three of the most discreet of the resident ecclesiastics, under the title of Guardians (*ἐπιτροποί*). This office is now filled by Misael, the venerable bishop of

language as to pass for a Syrian, was elected to the patriarchal chair in 1554, by the synod of native bishops. He presided until 1579, and contrived, during his incumbency, so to fill up the vacant sees as to secure a majority of Greeks in the synod, whom he easily

persuaded to pass enactments for the perpetual exclusion of the natives. Mouravieff, cap. xxxix.

⁴ It should be observed that this school is of a high order, and that the monks, even the priest-monks, compose the *Didaskalos*' class.

Petra, and Cyrill, the shrewd and intelligent bishop of Lyd, who are assisted by a synod composed of the remaining bishops¹, together with certain archimandrites, and the secretary of the see. A treasurer, vestiarius, librarian, and other minor officers, are appointed for the regulation of the great monastery in its various departments; and the annual influx of pilgrims preparatory to the great feast gives full employment to all. The visitors are received on their first arrival in the great convent, where they are entertained one night. On the following morning they come before the synod to present such offerings as their circumstances allow, for the support of the church and monastery, and to enter their own names, and the names of such friends as they will, in a book, for special intercession in the prayers of the church. They are then assigned, according to their nation or condition, to one of the many monasteries of the Orthodox in Jerusalem², where they reside during their stay, attending the daily services in their own convent-chapel, and visiting at their will the various sacred localities in and around the city. By this systematic arrangement the confusion and inconvenience which would otherwise attend the annual arrival of the pilgrims is effectually provided against, and order maintained at least among the members of the same church.

The spiritual charge of the native Christians of the Orthodox communion in Jerusalem is entrusted to six secular priests, who minister in the churches of the Ointment-bearers and of St Mary, immediately without the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These priests are all natives,

¹ These were, in 1843, four, viz. Gaza, Neapolis, Sebastia, and Philadelphia. There were about 7 archimandrites, 4 *πρώτοι ἀγγέλοι*, 15 priest-monks, 6 deacon-monks, and in all

about 100 brethren of the Greek rite.

² The Orthodox possess 12 monasteries and 5 nunneries within the walls, but some of them are very small.

and married men ; the Orthodox church of the East allowing none but such to hear confession ; a precaution against those serious evils to which the forced celibacy of the Latin clergy has given occasion, to the great scandal of Christendom. The services are conducted both here and throughout the East in the vernacular language, and sermons are preached every Lord's day and on Festivals by the best qualified of the clergy³. But it is deeply to be deplored that no adequate provision is made for the instruction of the parochial ministers, nor is their standing such as would secure them the respect of their flocks, except for the dignity of their sacred office.

The number of Christians of the Orthodox communion permanently resident in the city is only 600, according to an authority which cannot be suspected of under-stating the amount, or I should have concluded that it was much larger⁴. The whole patriarchate reckons about 17,280 souls of the Greek rite, many of whom are residing in villages almost exclusively Mahomedan, miles from a church or priest, yet holding fast the profession of their faith, so far as they have been taught it ; touching at least the hem of their Saviour's garment, with simple faith in His saving virtue, and so receiving from His fulness healing and grace.

³ When I was at Jerusalem it was the practice of the preacher to go every week to a learned archimandrite, priest Joel, to be instructed in a sermon for the following Sunday.

⁴ My authority is the statement mentioned above, furnished by the patriarchate itself. See Appendix. The computation is :

Orthodox Greek Christians	600
Roman Catholics.....	200

Other Christians, about....	120
Jews, about	5000
Mahomedans	5000
Total.....	10,920

I should have been disposed to take about 2000 from the Jews and add it to the Christians, which would very nearly agree with Dr Robinson's account, which seemed to me pretty correct. B. R. Vol. II. p. 85.

2. *The Georgians*¹.

THE Georgians, though at present very inadequately represented in Jerusalem, will claim the second place, not only on account of their orthodoxy and consequent inter-communion with the Greek Church, but on account of their early establishment in the neighbourhood of the sacred localities, and the great importance which they formerly possessed.

Their connexion with this see, which dates from a very early period, was commenced under circumstances which promised a long continuance of friendly relations, and was afterwards cemented by an additional tie. According to the ancient annals of the Georgian church, the Cross was first planted in Iberia by the apostle St Andrew and Simon the Canaanite. St Clement of Rome, being banished to Pontus by the emperor Trajan, watered in his exile the seed which had thus been sown, and fire-worship and idolatry, attended with human sacrifices and cannibalism, vanished before the blessed influence of the Gospel of Christ. At the close of the third century, however, the ancient superstition was beginning again to advance its claims, when Georgia was visited by St Nina, or Nonna, whose labours resulted in the conversion of all Iberia, from the shores of the Black Sea almost to the mountains of Albania, and from the Caucasus to the confines of Persia. This apostle had for her maternal uncle the then bishop of Jerusalem, with whose blessing she had set forth to that work of which she was permitted to see the happy consummation about the time when the Holy City was becoming a more prominent object of attraction to all

¹ I am here indebted to the Rev. Mr Blackmore for the use of his MS. translation of a most interesting history of the Georgian Church, compiled from native annals, by a native, M. Jossilian.

Christians through the pious magnificence of St Helena and her son. The first Christian king of Iberia, whose name was Miriam, emulated the devotion of the octogenarian empress, and at a like advanced age undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his journey he had an interview with Constantine, from whom he obtained a grant of land for the purpose of erecting a church on one of the sacred localities about the Holy City. The pious interest thus manifested by Miriam was afterwards imitated by many of his successors. Fifteen centuries of intestine division, during which this warlike people have been exposed to the repeated attacks of Magian and Mahomedan invaders; torrents of blood shed in the defence of the Christian faith; the repeated devastation of their country and the spoiling of their goods, in the fruitless attempt to shake their religious constancy; their intestine troubles occasioned by heretics, and latterly by the emissaries of the papal see: not all these combined have been able to divert their thoughts from the holy places, or to quench the zeal which the example of Miriam had kindled. In every century of their annals we read of pilgrimages undertaken, of monasteries and churches founded or enlarged, and of costly offerings to the Holy Sepulchre from the religious princes of Georgia; until their community became the most important and wealthiest in the city.

This interest may be further accounted for by the fact, that the princely family of Bagration, the last of four dynasties which have governed the country from the days of Alexander the Great, deduced its origin from the royal house of David. The date of their migration from Jerusalem is fixed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus² to the fifth

² De Administ. Imp. II. xlv. p. 99. He gives the names of those who migrated, as David and Spandiates.

century, and towards the close of the seventh they succeeded to the throne of Georgia¹. The memorial of their illustrious descent was handed down from generation to generation in the coat of arms which they still bear, exhibiting, among other devices², the sling and harp of David; and this idea, however it originated, could not fail to produce a more than ordinary interest in Jerusalem, which displayed itself in their munificent support of those religious establishments which their predecessors had founded in that city³. The number of these amounted at one period to eleven, some of which must have been founded very early, since we find among other works of the Emperor Justinian, in the middle of the fifth century, that he repaired the monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem, and another of the Lazi, a tribe of the same family, in the desert of Jerusalem⁴; and all these convents were endowed with houses and lands, and furnished with serfs for their support.

But that long and bloody struggle, maintained for centuries, in the noblest cause, against the enemies of the Christian faith, which so weakened them at home that it forced them at last to throw themselves for protection into the arms of Russia⁵, could not but tell on their establishments at Jeru-

¹ This was brought about through the adoption of Gouram-Bagratides by Stephen, the last king of the dynasty of the Sassonides. This first king of the new dynasty was confirmed on the throne by Justinian II. 685—711, with the title of Curopalata, a distinction afterwards conferred on his grandson Adranasi by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, 718—741. *Cont. Porph.* l. c.

² A pair of scales, emblematical of the justice of Solomon, also appears on the shield which is supported by lions,

the supporters of his throne. Their motto is: "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David, He will not turn from it: Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne."

³ See Constantine *Porph.* l. c.

⁴ *Procopius de Ædific. Just.* v. ix. This author gives the Iberians a deservedly high character in another work. *De Bell. Pers.* i. xii.

⁵ This they did by the advice of their last king George XIII. The negotiations were brought to a close at

salem, which passed, one after another, into the hands of the Armenians or of their brethren of the Greek rite. Yet even so late as the beginning of the last century, Vachtang VI. sent a present of 2000 toomans as an offering to the Holy Sepulchre; nor does the decline of their importance date so far back as the circumstances of their country might have led us to expect. So late as the commencement of the sixteenth century they enjoyed immunities which were conceded to no other Christians at Jerusalem⁶. Their pilgrims were free from those vexatious imposts which others had to pay, and their men and women entered the city in full armour, with their banners displayed, in martial array, nor did the infidels dare to molest them. They ranked fourth in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and owned the Chapel of the Discovery of the Holy Cross.

The only convent now remaining to them is that which was first erected, by their king Tatian, in the fifth century, apparently on the land granted by Constantine to Miriam, situated in a valley on the left of the Jaffa road, about twenty minutes' walk from the city walls. It derives its name from the Holy Cross, the wood of which is supposed to have grown near this spot⁷. Its massive walls and low portal, guarded by an iron door, bear witness to the unsettled state of the country; and the building has been frequently exposed to the attacks of the lawless Arabs, who, a few years ago, effected an entrance by night, and murdered

the beginning of the present century. The manifesto of the Emperor Alexander bears date Sept. 12, 1801.

⁶ Baumgarten, who visited Jerusalem in 1507, thus describes them: "...semper aperto Marte signisque erectis sine tributo ullo aut molestia, liberi intrans. Eorum fœminæ nobiliores, more Amazonum, arma tractant."

Travels, Lib. II. cap. ix.

⁷ The statement furnished by the patriarchate to M. Mouravieff gives another reason for this name: viz. that it was here that Heraclius elevated the Cross after he had recovered it from the Persians. But this account is not adopted in the Προσκυνητάριον.

the superior in his bed. At various periods from the time of its foundation it has been greatly enlarged, and at the close of the seventeenth century it contained 220 cells; at present it numbers no more than three or four monks, under the superintendence of a Georgian archimandrite, whose friendship I had the good fortune to enjoy during my residence at Jerusalem. Its principal church, which is very large, though now in a state of miserable decay, still bears traces of its former magnificence, in the fragments of tessellated pavement composed of variegated marbles, and its walls richly ornamented with mosaic. The memory of its pious benefactors is scarcely preserved in the decayed pictures of certain kings of Georgia and patriarchs of Jerusalem. The present excellent superior¹ mourns over the ruins, and is most anxious to restore it to its former glory; but the building fund is so very insignificant as barely to suffice for the necessary repairs of the convent. It amounts only to 12,000 piastres—not much more than £100 a-year, derived from estates attached to it in Georgia; while he computes that 500,000 piastres would be necessary to put the church itself into decent repair. Much more would be required to restore it thoroughly. It were surely an object worthy of the great autocrat, who now represents the Georgian kings, to extend to this convent that princely liberality which has adorned so many churches in this country; and there can be little doubt that a proper representation of the facts of the case would engage his hearty interest in it, and induce him to undertake its restoration with his accustomed munificence.

¹ He was appointed only four or five years ago, by the reigning orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, in whom the appointment is vested. He found the church in a wretched state, and has

expended all his private means in furnishing it with service-books and other things necessary for the decent performance of public worship.

3. *The Armenians*².

This important community own a common descent with the Georgians³, but do not, unhappily, belong to the same household of faith. Their separation from the Catholic Church dates from the Council of Chalcedon, whose decrees they persist in rejecting to this day⁴. They form by far the most important branch of the Monophysite heresy, and their restoration to the orthodox communion is a consummation so devoutly to be desired, that the slightest approaches to it, or the very inclination for it, cannot but be hailed with extreme satisfaction. It is gratifying therefore to know that their chief patriarch has been received with distinguished honour in the Russian capital, and that negotiations for a reconciliation have been set on foot; and although for the present the result has not been favourable, yet it may be hoped that a better understanding has been mutually established, which may in due time bring about the desired union. The tried orthodoxy of the Eastern Church is a sufficient guarantee that subscription to the decisions of the Fourth General Council will be required as an indispensable condition of intercommunion, and the language now held by the orthodox and Armenian writers encourage the hope that this necessary

² Through Mr Blackmore's kindness I here avail myself of his MS. translation of the History of the Gregoro-Armenian church, extracted from the journal of the Russian minister of the interior, 1843. And to him I am likewise indebted for his translation of the interesting works referred to below.

³ Gaick and Carthlos, from whom the Armenians and Georgians respectively derive their native names, were brothers, great grandchildren of Japheth, apparently through Javan and

Tarshish. See Genesis x. 2, 4. They were contemporaries of Ninus or Nimrod.

⁴ This council was formally rejected by the Armenian church, in a synod A. D. 491. This must of course be undone. Intercommunion with the orthodox church of the East has been twice restored for a time; first under Heraclius, A. D. 629, when it continued for eighty-four years, and again under Manuel Comnenus (A. D. 1143—1180.)

condition may present no insurmountable obstacle. It is represented on both sides¹ that intestine commotions alone prevented them from sending deputies to take part in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, and that the subsequent condemnation of its decisions was the consequence of misrepresentation, and proceeded on the idea of their opposition to the doctrine established at Ephesus. It is further attempted to put an orthodox interpretation on the doubtful language of their more learned doctors; the frequent expositions of the faith are remarkably free from any mixture of the Eutychian leaven², distinctly recognizing the perfection of the two natures in the one person of our Lord; and they repudiate with horror the imputation of Monophysite heresy, which they anathematize and abhor.

All this is very hopeful, and there can be little question that the adjustment of this unhappy difference between these two important communities would be productive of the most blessed results, not only in the removal of the scandal which their divisions have so long occasioned, but in that it would enable them more successfully to resist the encroachments of the Church of Rome; and not so only, but might lead to the further extension of the Gospel in the world: for no nation on earth could be better qualified than the Armenians to act as missionaries to the infidels of the East, if they could be brought to devote themselves to the propagation of the faith with the same ardent zeal which they have shewn in the pursuit of earthly riches.

¹ Mr Blackmore has translated a very valuable Exposition of the Confession of Faith of the Armenian Church, written in Russ by the archbishop of the Russian Armenians, 1799.

² This is the more important, as,

if Gibbon can be trusted, up to the last century they alone remained "the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny." Decline and Fall, cap. xlvii.

From the fifth century downwards, "the troubles of Armenia have served to scatter her children abroad over the face of the earth; and the unsettled wandering life, consequent on the absence of a national bond, has served to turn their native spirit of calculation, enterprize, and activity, almost exclusively towards commerce, of which they became the principal channels between Europe and Asia. In this view they have established themselves in those places where these two continents come in contact with each other. Under the protection of the Mongals, they were scattered throughout the whole of the extensive limits of their settlements in Eastern Europe, in the Khanats of Astracan and Kazan, in the Crimea, in the Russian Ykraine, and more especially in Volhynia and Galicia. They followed the footsteps of the Osmanli Turks to Constantinople, and inundated all the Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. The establishment of a government in the centre of Asia, under the sophis of Persia, attracted them to the interior of Iran, from whence they penetrated into India, to Madras, and Calcutta. In Europe itself, they have advanced on one side from the borders of the Austrian kingdom to Venice and Vienna, and on the other, from the frontiers of the great empire of Russia to Moscow and St Petersburg. Thus is this nation dispersed over an immense extent of the globe, from the Indian Ocean to the Baltic, from the steppes of Tartary to the valley of the Nile, to the crests of the Carpathian Mountains and the Alps, while the land of their fathers is divided between Russia, Turkey, and Persia."

Yet, like the Jews, whom they resemble in so many points, they have retained, in all countries, their distinctive features and habits, while their general probity has secured for them universal respect. Their Church, founded by St Gregory the Great, has been their sole bond of union, and

the patriarch of Etchmiazine¹, the successor of that apostle of their nation, their one visible head: for the dignitaries, who are honoured with that title at Constantinople and Jerusalem, wear it rather as a political than as a religious distinction; nor does their office in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of the catholicos of Etchmiazine, to whom they stand almost in the capacity of *vicars in partibus*. The title of Patriarch was assumed by the bishop at Jerusalem in 1310, and at Constantinople in 1461. The latter of these two dignitaries has authority over all the dioceses within the limits of the Ottomon empire², with the reservation of general subordination to the catholicos, and with the exception of the patriarch of Jerusalem, who is independent of all but the supreme authority, within the limits of his own jurisdiction, which extends over Palestine and the Island of Cyprus.

This office was filled, during my residence at Jerusalem, by a dignitary named Pogos, of polished manners and affable address, and moreover of considerable literary attainments; he resigned however in the year 1843, and was succeeded by Zecharias, who stands so high in the estimation of the whole Church, that on the late free election of a Supreme Patriarch, his name obtained the greatest number of suffrages next to Narcissus, who was actually chosen. A synod of bishops adds dignity to the patriarchal court, but they do not, I believe, claim, and certainly do not exercise, any jurisdiction within the dioceses of Palestine, from which they derive their title; however this may be, the more ancient practice of consecrating these dignitaries to some of the extinct sees in Armenia was decidedly less open to objection

¹ This spot is situated at the distance of three leagues from Erivan, and is now comprehended within the Russian empire.

² The Armenians of India are under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ispahan.

than that which now prevails, which looks like a schismatical attempt to interfere with the authority of the bishops of the orthodox communion.

The Armenians possess the large convent of St James the son of Zebedee, on Mount Zion, within the walls, and a much smaller one which occupies the traditionary site of the house of Caiaphas, a little without the Zion Gate. Both of these, with other sacred localities, formerly belonged to the Georgians³; but on the decline of their fortunes, they were fain to dispose of them to this more wealthy fraternity, on the condition, however, that they shall be restored to their original owners, should the latter ever find themselves in a condition to pay the amount of tribute exacted by the Turks for the occupation of these buildings⁴.

The patriarchal monastery of St James is said to occupy the site of that apostle's martyrdom; but, as it is evident that this part of Mount Zion must have been within the ancient city, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition, which is not very ancient, with the established historical fact, that the executions of the ancients took place without the gates. The convent is of such extent that it can furnish accommodation for the two or three thousand pilgrims who annually resort to the celebration of Easter; and the church is larger

³ George I. Curopalata, in the 11th century, first built a monastery at the reputed place of St James's martyrdom. Mouravieff, *Hist. of Jerusalem*, Vol. I. p. 375.

⁴ Letters to this effect, it seems, are still preserved in the Patriarchal Court at Jerusalem: so says M. Jossilian, *History of the Georgian Church*, note 26 on cap. vii. The transfer took place as early as the 15th century; and the Armenians were to pay an annual

sum of 80 ducats in acknowledgement of the Georgians' rights; which was, of course, soon withheld. Once in the 17th century the orthodox, under their Patriarch Pæsius (A. D. 1645—1660), succeeded in obtaining possession of it for a few years; and have not yet relinquished their pretensions, grounded on their relations with the Georgians, whose name *Iberes*, affords a pretext for a like claim to the *Latins*, which they are not ashamed to urge!

and more handsome than any of the other churches in the city, excepting only that of the Greek orthodox attached to the Holy Sepulchre. But the decorations of the Armenian Church of St James are nowhere equalled in richness, and their sacred vestments are peculiarly splendid: the great wealth of the community, and the universal interest felt concerning Jerusalem¹, allowing them to provide for the public service of God more sumptuously than any other communion. Among their other treasures, they boast to have the chair of St James, the first bishop of Jerusalem; and it is not improbable that their archives would enable them to make out a tolerable pedigree for this venerable relic, running up to the time of Eusebius, in whose days it was certainly supposed to be still in existence at Jerusalem².

4. *The Syrians, or Jacobites.*

The Syrians and Copts are connected with the Armenians by terms of intercommunion, owing to their general agreement in the Monophysite heresy, although shades of difference have been discovered between the different churches³. They assist at each other's services, and the weaker communities look for support to their more powerful and influential co-religionists, in return for which they are expected to submit to such spoliation and degradation as their poverty admits, and the pride or caprice of the Armenians chooses to impose. They derive their name *Jacobites* from James

¹ Ricaut mentions that three collections are made in all Armenian churches during the hours of divine service on Sundays; the first for Jerusalem, the second for Etchmiazine, and the third for the church where they are. (Present State of the Arme-

nian Church, 1678, p. 393.) Whether this practice is continued, I know not.

² Eusebii H. E. VII. 19.

³ There is an admirable treatise on the Monophysite heresy in Asseman's Biblioth. Orient. Vol. II.

Baradæus, an heretical monk, a disciple of Severus of Antioch, who, in the former half of the sixth century, restored the persecuted and sinking cause of the Monophysites in Syria⁴, and through whom the present Jacobite patriarch of Antioch traces his succession to that Severus whose unfortunate ingenuity discovered a solution of the mystery of the Incarnation, opposed alike to Catholic verity, and to the conflicting but equally perverse definitions of Nestorius and Eutyches.

This dignitary resides in the monastery of Zapharan, near Mardin, in the province of Diarbekir, from whence he exercises spiritual jurisdiction over a poor and scattered flock, which he with difficulty keeps together, owing to the persevering exertions of the active missionaries of the Propaganda, backed as they are by the busy cooperation of the civil representatives of France⁵. The vicar of this Syrian prelate at Jerusalem, during my sojourn, was a truly amiable person, Abd-el-Nûr by name, bishop of Orfa, in Mesopotamia, of whose death I have lately heard with regret. The community is very small, one priest and one deacon formed the staff of the bishop; the number and condition of the pilgrims would not afford them a very numerous establishment; and several houses which they formerly possessed in the city, the revenues derived from which maintained them in comfort, have been taken out of their hands by their Armenian protectors.

They occupy the ancient monastery, known as the house of Mark, the only one remaining to them of several which

⁴ Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 145, 146.

⁵ They were lately deprived of six churches and convents, between Damascus and Aleppo, by the united ex-

ertions of the political and religious agents. The British ambassador at Constantinople procured a firman for their restoration, the object of which was however defeated.

they formerly owned, the remainder having been confiscated by the Turks, by the law of might. To these, however, they trust hereafter to make good their claim, by the ancient deeds which they still preserve, in expectation of a day, not far distant as they hope, when the domination of a Christian power shall repair the injuries of centuries of oppression, and restore to them the inheritance of their ancestors, of which they have been unjustly deprived.

5. *The Copts.*

The important see of Alexandria, which had furnished the Church with her ablest and best champions of orthodoxy, against Arian and Nestorian heresy, became a scourge and a curse to the faith during the presidency of Dioscorus, the successor of St Cyril. Nor did the sentence of deprivation pronounced against him by the Council of Chalcedon, arrest the progress of the error which he had propagated. The bands of monks of the Egyptian deserts had become hopelessly corrupted with heresy, and the disease was not to be eradicated by the sword of the orthodox emperors¹. The torrents of blood shed in the attempts to establish the faith of Chalcedon in the churches of Egypt most signally failed; a succession of heretical patriarchs was perpetuated in the monasteries of Thebais, and the whole country, with the exception of an insignificant fraction, followed the persecuted cause, which found that protection from the Mahomedan invaders which it had looked for in vain to the Christian emperors of the East. At the present day, while the jurisdiction of the orthodox patriarch, elected by the synod of Constantinople, supported by not so much as one suffragan, scarcely extends beyond the limits of his own monastery at Alex-

¹ See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. xlvii.

andria, the Jacobite prelate, with a synod of bishops, presides in his convent at Cairo over an indigent but obedient people, scattered in the villages bordering on the Nile, and exercises metropolitan powers in the church of Abyssinia, the appointment of whose Abuna, or chief ecclesiastical officer, is vested in his hands.

The friendly intercourse lately opened between this prelate and some dignitaries of our own church promises the happiest results, if only it be conducted throughout in the same judicious and cautious manner in which it was commenced², and by which a feeling of the most unbounded confidence in the Anglican Church has been excited in the mind of the Coptic patriarch. In all our dealings with the oppressed Christians of the East the utmost caution is required, not only lest we identify ourselves with their heretical perversions of doctrine, or practical corruptions of ritual, but lest we mistake their desire of protection and temporary assistance for a disposition to receive from us spiritual advantages, since the cruel exactions to which they are subject may appear to them to justify such dissimulation, and will perhaps excuse it to those among ourselves who consider the debasing and demoralizing influence of centuries of servitude under the yoke of Mahommedan oppressors.

The advantage taken of the friendless condition of the Copts may be seen by the following recital, which will further serve to illustrate the manner in which justice is administered in Jerusalem, and not there only, but in almost all the courts of law within the Turkish dominions. The events occurred in the year 1842. The small Coptic esta-

² I allude to the exertions of my friend the Rev. Dr Tattam, to whose friendship with the Coptic patriarch the church is indebted for the recovery

of some valuable works of the ancient fathers hid for centuries in the monasteries of the Egyptian deserts.

blishment at Jerusalem was mainly dependent for its support on the rent of six small houses, which yielded but a very scanty return. But even of these they were not allowed to retain undisputed possession. One of the many natives who call themselves Franks, and think that the designation entitles them to European protection in any iniquities which they think fit to practice—this worthless fellow laid claim to three of these houses, without the slightest shadow of right. The poor Copts requested the *cadi* to allow them time to send to Cairo for the deeds and papers, which are in safe keeping at the patriarchate. The request was complied with; but before the appointed time had expired, or the documents could arrive, the false claimant went with a bribe in his hand to the pasha, and prevailed on him to serve a notice to the *cadi* requiring him to act immediately. The Copts seeing no other course open to them in their extremity, resolved, with the advice and assistance of the more wealthy Armenians, to purchase justice by a bribe to the *cadi*; and for this purpose borrowed a sum of £105, almost the value of the houses. The following will further prove the value of water in Jerusalem. About the same time they had a dispute with a Turk concerning a cistern of water¹ which was common property, having an opening both from their convent and his house, but which he claimed for himself exclusively. Judgment was given in their favour, but only in consideration of a bribe of £45! It is not surprising that disputes so decided should be afterwards revived, especially when the

¹ There is a very large cistern belonging to their Convent of the Sultan, which will repay a visit of the antiquary. Owing to the water and the darkness I could not properly explore it. They call it the Church of St Helena, and point out in a distant part

two columns of white marble, where they say an altar stands. It appears to be a very lofty cave in the native rock, and the descent to it is by a handsome staircase in one of the angles. The visitor should go provided with many tapers.

arrival of a new *cadi* may be supposed to cancel all the acts of his predecessor; for this judicial appointment is held for three years, during which period the functionary is to turn it to what advantage he can, by the administration or perversion of justice. Accordingly, the troubles of the Copts were renewed the year after their adjustment; but I am sorry not to be able to report the result.

By what singular good fortune this community was able to establish itself in the large monastery contiguous to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is not very clear. The domination of the Mamaluke sultans appears to have been more favourable to them than to other Christians; and they have an interesting but very vague tradition relative to the convent, which I had from the superior. A Coptic secretary to one of these sultans was offered any reward he chose to ask for his long and faithful services; he refused to accept any remuneration for himself, but humbly prayed that his master would repair this ruined convent at Jerusalem, and grant it to his brethren. The sultan consented, and the memory of this event is still preserved not only in the name of the Convent, *Deir-es-Sultân* (the Convent of the Sultan), but in a heavy iron chain fastened in the wall by the door as a perpetual memorial of the sultan's bounty, and a witness to all that the convent was under his special protection; and the significant token has hitherto preserved to them the possession of this important building.

The date of this transaction may be pretty accurately determined by the following notes of time. The ancient Georgian annals relate that one of their kings had received, as a reward of his military services, from one of the Greek emperors, the half of Golgotha, which he covered with monasteries². This is sufficiently vague; but it further appears,

² Jossilian's Georgian History, cap. viii. n. 66.

Bagration IV. repaired these buildings in the eleventh century¹, and that so late as A. D. 1507 the Georgians were established on Mount Calvary, having recovered it from the Armenians through the powerful influence of another Georgian king with the sultan of Egypt². Now since the city passed from the Mamaluke sultans of Egypt to the Ottoman rule under Selim I. in the year A. D. 1517³, the story of the Coptic superior must belong to the ten years preceding the fall of the dynasty of the Mamalukes.

The monastery of the Sultan is presided over by a married priest—a singular anomaly, and tenanted by a few poor Copts, and still more abject Abyssinians. The Copts also possess a smaller monastery dedicated to St George, in another part of the town, and at no great distance from that they had commenced a very large new convent, under the protection of Ibrahim Pasha, but on his expulsion from the country this extensive building was abandoned.

Having thus reviewed the Oriental Churches, as they are represented around the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, I proceed to the Occidentals, among whom the Latins will challenge the first notice, both on account of their importance and the priority of their establishment.

II. OCCIDENTALS.

1. *Latins.*

THE foundation of Monastic establishments of the Latins in Palestine is coæval with the introduction of the monastic rule into the country, and was much promoted by the zeal of

¹ This Bagration was son and successor of George I. who, in the same century, founded the monastery of St James. See above, p. 455, n. 3.

² Baumgarten's Travels, Lib. II. cap. ix. pp. 90, 91.

³ See above, p. 240.

St Jerome and the liberality of his pious friends and disciples, whose virtues he has immortalized. We have seen that prior to the period of the Crusades they occupied the monastery of the merchants of Amalfi, otherwise called "Sancta Maria de Latinâ," which was afterwards enlarged into the hospital of the Knights of St John⁴. On the recovery of the city by Saladin, the strangers were expelled, and on their return, established themselves around the Cænaculum on Mount Zion, where a Franciscan convent was erected by Sancia, queen of Robert of Sicily, in which the western pilgrims of the fourteenth and two following centuries were entertained during their visit to the city⁵. From this convent they were expelled by the infidels in 1560; and a pilgrim who visited the Holy City, and was received by them in their new convent, only twenty years later, gives a curious account of the circumstances which led to their removal⁶. A Constantinople Jew, who had great influence with the grand vizir on account of his riches, requested the Latin pilgrims to allow him to perform his devotions at the tombs of David and Solomon, whose place of burial was said by ancient tradition to exist under the arches of their church. But his most earnest entreaties were ineffectual. The Jew, in anger, vowed revenge, and, on his return to Constantinople, rebuked the vizir for his indifference to two great prophets celebrated in the Koran, whose holy relics were in the hands of the infidels. His representations, aided by bribes, had the desired effect, and the holy places were rendered as inaccessible to the Christians as they had before been to the Jews.

⁴ See above, p. 230, and Addison's *Knights Templars*, p. 61.

⁵ See the authorities in Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, I. p. 358, and note 3.

⁶ This was Prince Radzivil, who visited Jerusalem circ. A. D. 1583. He is quoted by M. Mouravieff, *History of Jerusalem*, cap. xxxviii.

The Latin monks next migrated to the convent of St Salvador, which they still occupy, originally the property of the Georgians, and probably identical with their celebrated Iberian monastery, erected by king Vachtang in the fifth century (446—499), and afterwards repaired by Justinian¹. The church is dedicated to St John the Divine, and is frequented by such of the native inhabitants as conform to the Latin ritual. Their number is stated by the Greeks at 200, or a third of their own; and although I should imagine the numbers of both to be understated, yet the proportion appears pretty correct. They are entirely under the spiritual care of the Latin fathers, chiefly Spaniards, in number from twelve to fifteen, presided over by a guardian, who exercises episcopal jurisdiction, without the order of bishop, as a mitred abbot, during his triennial appointment.

Notwithstanding the dispute between St Jerome and the bishop John, and the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction claimed for the alien monks by Epiphanius, the good understanding between the Greeks and Latins in the Holy City does not seem to have been permanently interrupted previous to the Crusades; but it was impossible that harmony could survive the schismatical invasion of the patriarchate and all its subject sees by the Latins, immediately after their occupation of the city. And when to this grievance were added the irritating claim of papal supremacy, and the no less exciting questions relating to the procession of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, the doctrine of Purgatory, and the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Eucharist, it was every way to be expected that a controversy conducted, as such controversies too often are, with more zeal than charity, should finally terminate in mutual denunciations and open hostilities,

¹ See above, p. 448, and Procop. *De Ædific. Just.* v. 9. Vol. II. p. 467.

such as have, for the last three centuries, kept Jerusalem in a perpetual ferment.

But the evil was much fomented by the active endeavours of Pope Urban the VIIIth to make up for the defections from the Roman see in the West by extensive proselytism in the East. Not one of the ancient churches but was visited by missionaries of the Propaganda, or the enterprising members of the Society of Jesus; who, not satisfied with the conversion of heretics to the Catholic faith, sought with equal ardour the reconciliation of the schismatics—so they called the members of the Orthodox Churches of the East—to what they intended by “*The Apostolic See*².” When we consider, on the one hand, the deplorably low state in which the Oriental Churches were sunk through the prevailing ignorance and corruption of morals, and on the other, the zeal, ability, and persevering patience of the best-instructed and most devoted missionaries that the world had seen since primitive times, it is no matter of surprise that their self-denying labours were crowned with abundant success. And when to all this it is added, that their strenuous exertions were backed by the hearty co-operation of the French government, whose influence was directed by the kings themselves in the Supreme Porte and by their consuls in the East, it is astonishing that the ruins thus assailed did not crumble to dust. But to trace the progress of these operations in the East, interesting as it would be, would take me away from the subject in hand; thus much has been said in order to explain that, from the seventeenth century to the present time,

² A most interesting series of letters of these missionaries was published at Paris, 1780, under the title of “*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*,” lately reprinted. In the first volume will be found a letter of the superior of the

Jesuits in Syria to the general of the society, containing an account of the first establishment and operations of these missionaries in the East, under Pope Urban VIII. A.D. 1625.

the ancient orthodox church of Jerusalem has been exposed, in common with the other patriarchates, to these incessant encroachments; and although on the whole it has suffered much less than the northern parts of Syria, where whole dioceses have been won over to the Roman obedience, yet has it been robbed of many of its children, and those who still continue in its communion have been encouraged in a spirit of insubordination which defies the correction of ecclesiastical discipline. One instance of this may be given. There is a Christian village named Beit-Jâla, lying off the road to the right, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, containing about 200 families, with a church, and four priests, from ancient times subject to the orthodox patriarch, in whose diocese it is situated. A few years ago the whole village passed over to the Latins, and as this wonderful agreement was certainly not the result of conviction, as the sequel will prove, some countenance is afforded to the suspicion of the Greeks that bribery was practised. On this theory they say, that when the money was spent the faithless village returned to its allegiance to the patriarch. It will further illustrate the *animus* with which the controversy is carried on, to state, that all who had been baptized during the continuance of the schism, were rebaptized by the orthodox; who, on being expostulated with on the impropriety of such a course, acknowledged it at once, but said it was necessary in order to inspire the ignorant natives with detestation of their rivals! One other fact relative to this village should by no means be passed over in silence. Soon after the arrival of the Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, they offered themselves, through their sheikh, as Protestant converts; but as no negotiation was entered upon, the sum required for this transaction—or transition—must remain unknown.

2. *American Congregationalists.*

The fact last stated may well introduce this Society, which claims precedence among Protestant missions, by the rule of priority in their establishment at Jerusalem: for although it be true that a missionary who subsequently joined the Anglican Church, connected with a society which was also afterwards brought into closer relations with the same Church, has resided at Jerusalem from the period of their establishment, yet it will be presently seen that the operations of both were so completely identified, in their own view, and in the eyes of the natives, that the Anglican Church cannot properly be said to have been represented in the Holy City until the arrival of Bishop Alexander, in 1842.

Previous to this the Americans had been established in Jerusalem for ten or twelve years, and with their proceedings I am at present concerned. It is well to have from themselves a distinct and authoritative statement, to the effect that "the object of the American missions to Syria, and other parts of the Levant, is not to draw off members of the Oriental Churches to Protestantism¹." Well would it have been had this not only been avowed, but consistently acted upon from the commencement! then might that which is their declared object have been much nearer its accomplishment than now it is, if not through their agency, perhaps through the agency of others not less qualified for the task "of awakening them to the knowledge and belief of the gospel-truth, in the purity and simplicity of its original scriptural form." Whether their practice has been conformable to their profession, will presently appear. It is not impossible that a simple narrative of facts would suggest the idea that the ill success of their first

¹ Biblical Researches, Vol. I. p. 332.

attempts have caused them to alter their tactics, and adopt a new method of proceeding.

On the first arrival of the Americans at Jerusalem, they were received and entertained for some months in the monastery of the Archangel, belonging to the Orthodox, then under the superintendence of the very worthy archimandrite Joel, whose name I feel pleasure in repeating. They were welcomed, with courtesy and kindness at least, by the members of the Greek Church, and permission was even granted to bury their dead in the ground of the Orthodox. Whence came it then that in a few years the hearts of these Eastern Christians were estranged from them, that jealousies and suspicions were awakened, and the faithful almost forbidden to hold intercourse with them? Whence came it that in no long time regard was exchanged for something like aversion, so that on one occasion, when permission was asked to inter in their ground, it was granted only under a written promise that the request should never be repeated?

Coldness and indifference might be explained on the supposition that expectations of temporal advantage had been entertained by the covetous monks which were not realized, and, with a reservation in favour of the venerable superior and some others, I could not undertake to deny the charge; but the explanation is insufficient to account for the feelings which at present exist, the true grounds of which I will endeavour to investigate.

What if the grey-bearded bishops of these venerable churches came in time to discover that the missionaries, who had come from the far west to teach them scriptural religion, denounced, as corrupt and dangerous, doctrines which their church had derived from Scripture; that these *apostles*—so is still their name in Greek—were separate from the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, as they, in com-

mon with all Oriental Christians, understand it?—was it strange that they should hesitate to accept as teachers of scriptural truth those whom they must necessarily consider unskilled in the first elements of the Christian faith? If, further, they found that these same missionaries were actively engaged in disseminating among their flocks books and tracts containing novelties which their churches do not recognize, that children were brought together to schools, and adults to preachings, without the knowledge or sanction of their spiritual guides, was it not to be expected that a feeling of suspicion and distrust should be soon engendered?

They asked their Occidental instructors for creeds and liturgies—they were answered by the well-known Protestant motto. But the Orientals, admitting its truth, would have sense enough to observe, that the necessity of an interpreter of “the Bible” was yet acknowledged by the missionaries themselves, and would perhaps be curious to examine these more pure expositions of scripture truth, which were to be substituted for the ancient creeds and canons of the Orthodox Church. And what would they find? One of the most popular books distributed by the missionaries in the East bears on its cover the title, “Luther and his Times¹.” This is no place to discuss the character of that great man; I wish only to state the fact, that he, in common with Calvin, was branded as a heretic by the church of Jerusalem in the 17th century². I do not wish to justify the act; but supposing Luther had been the most perfect pattern of Christian graces that the world ever saw, was it consistent with the precepts of the Gospel to commence “the regeneration

¹ I adduce this as one of many like mischievous books, issued from the Malta Press, now happily abandoned,

or in better hands than formerly.

² In the synod of Bethlehem, under the patriarch Dositheus, A. D. 1672.

of the East" by such a method as this? Was this to feed children with milk, reserving strong meat for those of riper age? or was it not rather to pour new wine into old bottles, to sew new cloth on to an old garment? Was it not, in fact, to cast to the winds the profession of no intention to proselytize, supposing such a profession had then been made, and to unfurl a banner of revolt to the disaffected!

And the disaffected were received. At least, they were withdrawn from their obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, though not judged sufficiently advanced to be admitted to the privileges of church-membership in the Independent congregation; and anything more melancholy than the state of these unhappy men cannot be conceived. I knew one well, the most favourable specimen by far of all with whom I had any dealings; and his case may serve to convey an idea of the result of these endeavours. This disciple had been led, I hope and believe, to the honest conviction that certain practices in the Church of Rome—he was a Greek catholic¹—were erroneous or unscriptural: he was further persuaded that it was his duty to depart from its communion, and he did so: his wife continuing stedfast in her old profession. The man became a Protestant. He gave up the practices of fasting, crossing, confession, communion, frequenting church; and for these he substituted attendance on one Arabic service conducted by the missionaries on the Sunday. But he was not comfortable: he began to have misgivings: he felt a thirst which the missionaries could not satisfy: he began to detect defects in their system which he had not before observed. He enquired for their bishops,

¹ *i.e.* Convert from the Greek to Latin Church in his own person or in his parents. All the native Protestants

at Jerusalem were, I believe, of the Latin Church.

and was not satisfied with the reply, "*We are bishops.*" He questioned his teachers, and argued with them on other points, and his doubts were only confirmed. An English Prayer-book fell into his hands, and he found that a church, whose doctrines had been represented to him as identical with those of the Congregationalists, differed on many essential points: that it had bishops, priests, and deacons, creeds, and a liturgy; festivals and fasting-days; articles and canons: that it acknowledged the efficacy of the sacraments and the reality of sacramental grace: it was free from those errors which had drawn him from his old communion, and from those defects which he had observed in the new. He was delighted with the discovery; but his joy was of short duration. He was told it was a dangerous book, containing many errors, and it was taken away. But his perplexities were increased, and he was very miserable. To retrace his steps was impossible, even had he desired it. Yet with all his anxiety, he was in a happier condition than others who had taken the same decided step, and had fallen into a state of listless indifference and unconcern which it was most grievous to witness.

But this is not the worst. Let it be remembered that the Oriental Churches do not force celibacy on their clergy, or any others, but they simply allow monastic vows. Every monk is a free agent. The rule of the Armenian, as of the Greek Church, is to elect their bishops from the regular clergy. They are bishops because they were monks, not monks because bishops². Could it be right to tempt from the Armenian convent at Jerusalem those who had bound

² I insist on this in order to disconnect the case of the secular clergy who felt justified in marrying at the era of the Reformation, whose example

has, I believe, been lately imitated in Germany. I do not wish to pronounce an opinion on their case.

themselves by voluntary vows of celibacy, and had in consequence been admitted to the highest dignities in their church? Could it be right to encourage them to marry? Could any glory result to God, any good to the unhappy men themselves, by the violation of such obligations? or was it to be expected that, after having broken such vows, they should be holden by the cords of sand with which it was attempted to bind them? The missionaries know whether they are satisfactory Protestants¹.

But I have done with this most distressing subject; and if I have spoken plainly of the system pursued by the American Congregational missionaries, it is because I am convinced that, with the very best intentions, they are doing incalculable injury to those whom they are seeking to benefit. But this conviction is in no way inconsistent with the greatest personal regard for the truly estimable gentlemen of that body with whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted; the example of whose private and domestic virtues, amid the corruption and laxity of oriental morality, has conferred an inestimable blessing on the natives, which will counterbalance, if anything can, the evil which the schismatical tendency of their not very successful proceedings is calculated to produce. It was impossible to have any intercourse with them without feeling an earnest desire, that, if the English Church and nation cannot be represented to

¹ There were three of these unhappy men; I believe not more. The missionaries have taken charge of their families, as they were bound to do. The following will shew the influence of these examples. A monk from Mount Lebanon had come by stealth to Jerusalem. He was brought to me by the native Protestant, of whom I have spoken above;

he told me "he wished to become a Protestant." "Why?" "I want to marry." "No other reason?" "None." Was it wrong to tell such an one to remain where he was, until he knew some better reason for changing; to refer him to Judges xi. 35; Eccles. v. 4, &c.; and to bid him pray God to enable him to perform his vow.

the foreign Christians by countrymen of our own, we could prevail with those of our own blood, who own a common language, to join with us in a common cause, to be conducted on sounder principles. Even with their present views they would represent the English Church quite as faithfully, and much more creditably, than some others, from the consequences of whose inadequate ideas of its constitution and character it has long suffered, and is still suffering, more than can be told, in the estimation of the more intelligent Christians of the East: not that it is to be wished that the Americans should join us on any misapprehension of our real character; but may it not be hoped that the universal consent of all the ancient churches, with which they are there brought in contact, to certain points of doctrine and discipline, while they are most bitterly opposed on various other points, will at length convince them that what they once considered as peculiarities or blemishes in the Reformed Church of England, but which she is found to hold in common with all churches, are not Romish corruptions, but Catholic traditions, not of man's invention, but of Divine sanction?

3. *The English Mission.*

It was an unfortunate circumstance for our Church that it was first introduced to the Christians of Jerusalem, in later times, by a Lutheran minister, and a Dane. Whatever other qualifications such a missionary might possess, it was not to be expected, as of course it was not proposed, that he should faithfully represent the distinctive character of the Anglican doctrine and polity. It was moreover very natural that the few isolated Protestants at Jerusalem should agree to merge their differences, which were not considerable, and that the Lutheran and Congregational ministers and missionaries should meet together on an equal footing; nor could it be expected

that admission of the former to priest's orders in the English Church, on grounds of convenience rather than of conviction, would interrupt the harmony or interfere with the mutual understanding of equality which had been before established.

The exhibition of an Anglican priest dividing the service with the Congregational ministers, or even sitting on their divan to receive the emblems of the Holy Communion at their hands, was no doubt truly gratifying to those who witnessed it¹, and would be taken as an edifying proof of the catholicism of both bodies; but it was hardly a fair representation of the English Church, and to the Christians of the East would appear much more latitudinarian than catholic. It was to be expected, under these circumstances, that the English Church, in its only representative, would be identified with all the irregularities of which the Americans were guilty, and would be held alike responsible for any schismatical interference with the orthodox or sectarian bodies; and such was the case².

The munificent proposal of the King of Prussia to establish an Anglican bishop in the Holy City, seemed to open a brighter prospect, and to promise an adequate representation of the English Church to the Christians of the East. That proposal, communicated to the heads of our Church and of the Government, in the autumn of 1841, by the Chevalier Bunsen, a worthy ambassador in a religious cause, resulted in the consecration, at Lambeth, of Bishop Alexander, as representative of the Anglican Church in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Abyssinia. The great object of his

¹ See Dr Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Vol. i. p. 335. "In the 'large upper room' of Mr Whiting's house, where 'prayer was wont to be made,' eleven sojourners in the Holy City, all Protestant ministers of the gospel, and ten of them from the new

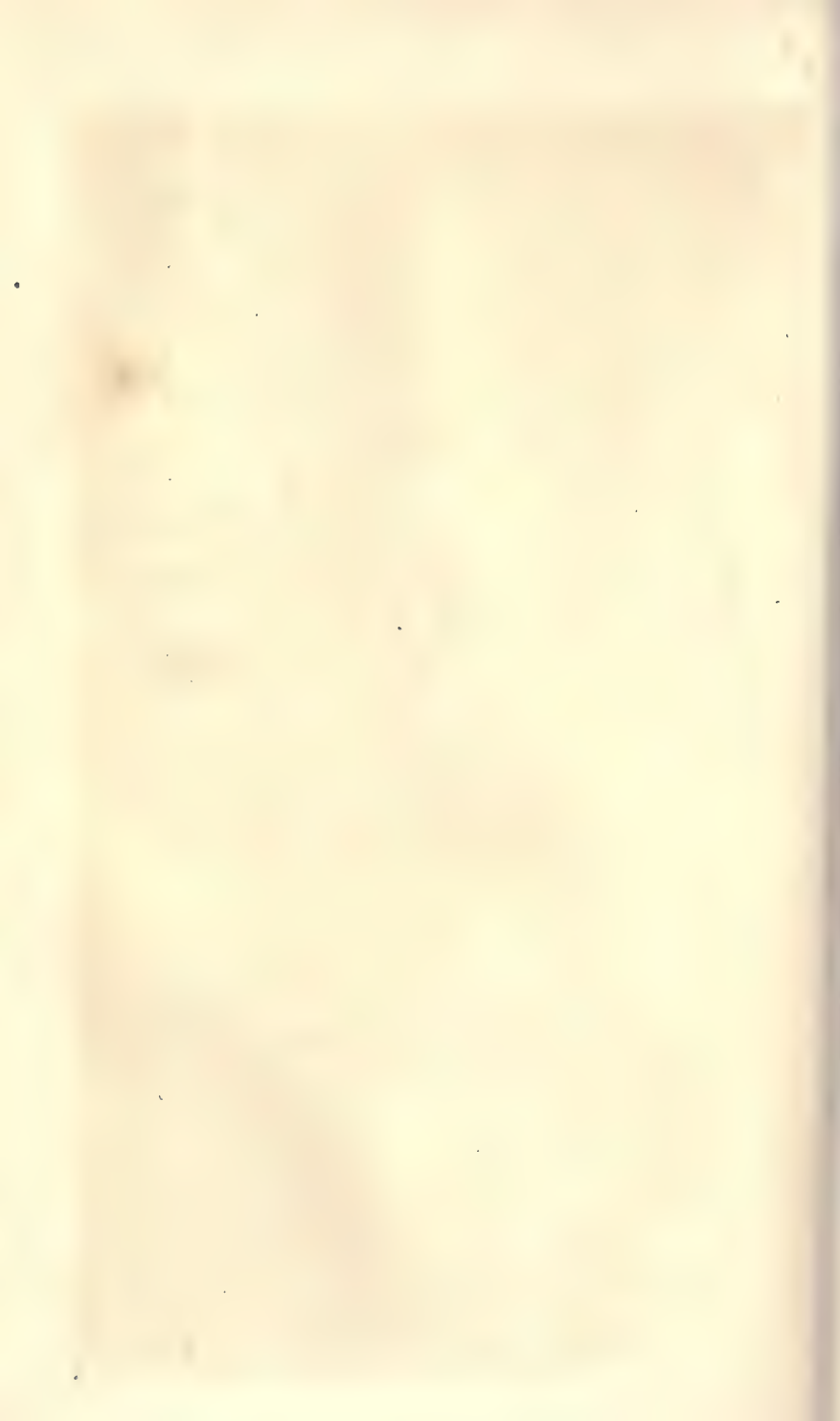
world, sat down...to celebrate," &c.

² Indeed, this seems to have been granted on all hands; so much so that the English considered themselves bound by the promise given to the Greeks by the Americans, not to ask permission to use their burial-ground.



THE LIFE OF DAVID R. DAVIES

1892-1893



Prussian Majesty, as set forth in his instructions, and in the authoritative statements of his government, was to effect an union between the Church of England and the evangelical confessions of Germany over the Tomb of their common Lord at Jerusalem. Whether either country was prepared for an union on such a basis as could alone secure its stability and permanency with mutual advantage, has since appeared; but in the view of the miserably distracted state of Christendom, an attempt to forestall the wished-for consummation is a venial error. The desire to promote unity is itself laudable; but an effort made in the right direction, and in the spirit of self-sacrifice, as this was made, is beyond all praise, and deserved a more liberal return from those in whose favour that great sovereign renounced both national and ecclesiastical predilections. Not only has his pecuniary grant for this object been met in a spirit of meanness which may well cause us a blush³, but the purity and simplicity of his motives have been questioned, and political designs been imputed without the slightest warrant, while the supposed failure of the undertaking has been further ascribed to him. But if mistakes have been committed, it is at least extremely ungenerous in us to charge them on his Prussian Majesty, whose only error could be that he reposed too implicit confidence in the English Church; and if the measure, instead of promoting unity, should unhappily create a fresh schism—as was the case with his excellent father's attempt to unite the two Protestant families of his kingdom—however such a result might demonstrate the sandy

³ I allude not so much to the fact of the endowment fund not being yet made up, which might be explained on other grounds, as to some discreditable items in the list, which have filled Prussians with amazement and covered

Englishmen with shame; but especially I refer to some enquiries which have been made and repeated relative to the fund collected in Prussia, by His Majesty's orders, in 1842.

foundation of the structure which he designed to rear, yet would not the failure prove the absence of upright intention on the part of the architect.

If any one has cause to feel aggrieved, His Majesty has a right to complain that the object with which he established the bishopric has been virtually superseded by one which it does not appear that he ever contemplated¹. But he has too much Christian feeling not to take a lively interest in the cause which he has thus inadvertently served. And although Jerusalem is not perhaps the city which he would have chosen for the head seat of a mission to the Jews², had that been his design, yet it is probable that if any sensible impression could be made upon them there, the happy event would exercise great influence over their brethren in other parts of the world. Whether the likelihood of this is so great, or the advantage would be so clear as to justify the concentration of all the missionary operations on the comparatively few Jews of Palestine, while the many thousands in Asiatic and European Turkey are neglected, I am perhaps not competent to judge; but some such hypothesis seems necessary to explain the fact, that Constantinople, with considerably more than ten times as

¹ Considering the turn which things have since taken, it is curious to remark the entire absence of all mention of the Jews in the German state papers, and in documents of a still earlier date, and of even higher authority.

² Owing both to the paucity of their numbers, of which more below, and to their peculiar character, of which Dr Robinson says, that "they are of all others the most bigoted, and the least accessible to the labours of Christian missionaries." Bib. Res. II. 87. I am not sure, however, that what he

calls "bigotry," meaning, as he explains it, "strong attachment to their ancient faith," is any bar to their reception of the gospel. I very much question whether the Jews of the Burton Street synagogue, London, and the reformed Jews of Liverpool, are one step nearer to Christianity than the "bigots." They are perhaps nearer to rationalism and infidelity. The apostles made more converts from the Pharisees than from the Sadducees. (Acts vi. 7; xv. 5; xxi. 20.)

many Jews as there are in all Palestine³; Salonica where the principal and most influential part of the population are Jews, —not to mention many other Turkish cities of scarce inferior importance—are left without a single missionary, while other places of much less consequence are supplied.

There is however, if not a large, yet a sufficient field of exertion, hitherto unoccupied, among the lost sheep of the house of Israel, in the city of their fathers; which, however unpromising, will no doubt yield fruit, if cultivated with earnest, serious diligence, in a spirit of holiness and self-denial; not in dependence on an arm of flesh, but in simple reliance on an Almighty Power. And it may be that missionary labours, so conducted, might exercise a beneficial influence on the other Christian bodies, sufficient to compensate for the lack of direct intercourse, which neither party seems forward to invite, and which could not, at least for many years, be expected to lead to any decided results. But even without this, much might no doubt be done to disabuse the minds of the Christians of Jerusalem of those unfavourable impressions which have been produced against us by popish and protestant misrepresentation, and so prejudices might be gradually weakened, and the way paved for mutual advances when the time shall come. This, it is plain, can only be effected by the utmost circumspection and forbearance; for Jerusalem is not so large, and its inhabitants not so fully occupied, as to allow the proceedings of a society, which can-

³ The number of Jews at Jerusalem has been set at 3000, (see above, p. 445, note 4.) In 1842 the number of Jews at Hebron was stated by themselves as 100 families, or about 380 souls in all; 42 families, about 150 souls, of Spanish, the remainder Rus-

sians, Poles, Germans, &c. In the same year there were 150 Jewish families at Tiberias, according to the chief rabbi there. The number at Safed, since the frightful earthquake in 1837, can scarcely exceed that at Tiberias. At Constantinople alone there are 80,000.

not but be regarded with suspicion and distrust, to escape unobserved; so that an inconsiderate expression might create a breach which it would take years to heal; an injudicious act produce an impression which nothing could remove. Further; if the superstitions of the Jews are to be not merely tolerated, but countenanced¹, may not some consideration be likewise shown to the weaknesses of other Christians, so far as can be without compromising truth? If the symbol of our salvation is to be kept out of sight, for fear of offending the prejudices of the former—though the Cross, however presented to them, must always be a stumbling-block, and it is obviously dangerous for Christians even to seem to be ashamed of it—yet if this be done, should not the same principle be carried out in our dealings with our brethren of other communions? Their infirmities deserve at least as much tenderness, and the apostolic rule applies equally to all². For example; if we have not ourselves any deep veneration for the decisions of the Fourth General Council, though its language is adopted by our Church in her authorized formularies, and its decrees prescribed by the state as one of the rules whereby to judge heresy³, yet regard for the Orthodox Church of the East should induce us to be very

¹ Must we not regard in this light the substitution of אֲדֹנָי for יְהוָה, after the manner of the synagogue, in the Hebrew service?

² 1 Cor. x. 32. Might not *e.g.* such concessions as the following be made? The Greeks make a point of baptizing by *trine immersion*, and consider it of such consequence, that the want of it affects the efficacy of the sacrament, except in cases of necessity. It is impossible to deny that immersion is the *rule of our church*; ought not then the

practice to be restored in the East, where no danger could result from it, and an objection of other Christians be removed? There especially should "all things be done according to the order" prescribed by the Church, 1 Cor. xvi. 40, as commented on in the Preface to the Prayer Book, "Of Ceremonies," &c.

³ See Article 2 of the 39 Articles, and act 1 Elizabethæ, cap. i. sect. 36. Gibson's Codex, Vol. II. p. 54.

guarded in our intercourse with those who reject and anathematize it; not that these last bodies need be unnecessarily scandalized⁴, or treated otherwise than with courtesy and kindness, in the hope that the exhibition of such sympathy and consideration as is not inconsistent with the strict maintenance of catholic truth, may dispose them to listen to our invitations to return to the unity and purity of the faith. So again, even though we place no faith in their local traditions, and regard the sacred places with indifference ourselves, it were surely well to bear with their weakness in this respect, and avoid the appearance of a contemptuous or irreverent violation of scenes associated in their minds with the most awful events of the Sacred History⁵.

The fact is, that circumspection on these and kindred points is absolutely indispensable, if we wish to exercise any influence for good in any part of the East, in the way of imparting to the Christians of those countries, or deriving from them, any spiritual gift. For this again must be remarked, if we think we have everything to teach and nothing to learn,—we are wanting in the first qualification for the task which we have set ourselves—the spirit of humility. And we shall soon find that we are grievously mistaken in supposing that the Orientals are prepared to acknowledge the pre-eminent excellency of our institutions. They are quite as jealous of our remedies, as we of their

⁴ I cannot but regard it as an unfortunate circumstance, that the land selected for the English church was the property of the Jacobites, unjustly confiscated by the Turks, and especially that their venerable church of St James the son of Alphæus should have been used as a depository for lime and other building materials.

⁵ Yet one would have hoped that the mere association connected with the name of “Aceldama,” the “Field of Blood,” even if the tradition were manifestly false, would have deterred any but infidels from selecting its immediate neighbourhood for the festivities of a *fête champêtre*!

contagion ; as indisposed to submit to us, as we are forward to proclaim our own superiority ; as apt to charge us with innovations in doctrine¹, as we to object to them corruptions of practice. Neither are the chief pastors of those churches sunk in such a depth of ignorance as we are wont to imagine ; and he should be a skilful controversialist, well exercised in Scripture and no tyro in patristical theology, who has to defend the Anglican formularies against the objections of a bishop of the Orthodox Church of the East. The long years passed in the convents, from which the higher clergy are always taken, are not wasted in idleness—at least, the drones are not raised to the higher dignities in the church ; and it is marvellous how much not merely of book-learning, but of the knowledge of mankind, is acquired by many in this seclusion, so that they come forth to take an active part in the affairs of the church and of the world, much better furnished with sound practical knowledge than many who have passed their lives on its busy stage.

One great difficulty with which we have to contend is the ignorance of the true character of our Church which prevails throughout the East, resulting, as is natural, from the long suspension of friendly intercourse. Indeed, it ought not to be expected that the Orientals should be better instructed in the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church than English Christians in the past history and present position of the Eastern Churches ; and the measure of our ignorance on these subjects may be taken as a fair criterion of their

¹ I had thrice the honour of seeing his holiness the patriarch of Antioch. In every interview he put me on the defensive, by objecting to the addition in the Nicene Creed ; and quoted *memoriter* long passages from St Johan-

nes Damascenus, against the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. He convinced me that either his holiness or myself entirely misinterpreted the Article in question.

knowledge of us; with this additional excuse for them, that of late years an inadequate representation of professed friends, and calumnious misrepresentation of avowed enemies, have served still further to mislead them, and to strengthen them in the belief that we are destitute of what they have been taught to consider the necessary notes of an orthodox church: to wit, an apostolic ministry²; a prescribed liturgy and ritual; and a dogmatic theology, conformable to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils, and the consent of Catholic Fathers. Nor ought we to expect that they will understand and appreciate the distinctive character of our Church, to which they have been so long strangers, until they have had a fair trial. It is not by our profession, but by our conduct, that they will judge. It is therefore a source of deep regret, that the general laxity and unfaithfulness to her godly directions that prevailed at home, during the last century, has ruled the practice of our congregations abroad, and produced an unfavourable impression, which will not easily be removed³.

What has been hitherto said refers to the position of our Church in the East generally; but there are peculiarities in our establishment at Jerusalem which serve to increase the difficulties, and to render caution doubly necessary. In other parts of the Levant the presence of an English chaplain has been the consequence of a previous establishment of British

² It is a humiliating fact, that while the Greek Church admits the orders of the Latins and Armenians, they do not recognize those of the Anglican Church; supposing them without the apostolic succession.

³ Jerusalem is, I believe, the only place within the limits of the Orthodox Church of the East, where the daily

service is used in the English Church. Nowhere is any regard paid to the church holy-days or fasting-days, except on the great festivals; while in some places the irregularities and indecencies would shock the most lax and irreverent English churchman. They cannot be specified.

residents, mostly for mercantile purposes. The object was understood; there was no room for suspicion. At Jerusalem the case was widely different. A church capable of accommodating four or five hundred persons was commenced, while as yet there were but eight or ten individuals for whom it would be available, and even they were there simply with a view to its construction¹: and a bishop was sent out, not to superintend a flock—for there was not one that could justify the measure, but to gather one where he could. These were the facts presented to the eyes of the Greek and Armenian bishops. Now when it is remembered how novel an idea missionary exertions, especially among the Jews, must be to them; how hopeless the prospect of success, of which they might imagine that the missionary who had been established there for twelve or fifteen years was a competent judge², it was not unnatural that they should suspect an ulterior though unavowed object in these proceedings; and if they were jealous for their flocks, as it was their duty to be, they could not but regard with distrust and hostility those who they feared had come to scatter them. True, it undoubtedly is, that nothing but friendly intentions were professed; that all desire of proselytism was distinctly disavowed, yet should

¹ Previous to the bishop's arrival, in January 1842, the mission consisted of the clergyman, the architect and his clerk, the foreman of the works, the carpenter, an apothecary, and one other. The foreman had a wife and two children. Only two of all these were English. The consul and his lady were absent.

Some natives, Protestant volunteers, of the Latin rite, pointed to the church in proof that we contemplated proselytism. It was very natural, and I

cannot but hope that the suspension of the building, which could surprise none who were acquainted with all the circumstances, may have been overruled for good in more ways than one.

² See Biblical Researches, Vol. 11. 87. "The efforts of the English mission have as yet been attended with very slight success; and it remains to be seen, whether the proposed erection of a Jewish Christian church in Jerusalem will add to the influence and prosperity of the mission."

it in justice be considered that the same language had been held by other Western Christians, until they had obtained sufficient influence in the country to secure the success of their aggressive operations. The Latins in the seventeenth century³, and the Americans in the nineteenth, had promised quite as fair⁴; and the last case at least was too recent to have escaped their memory. Besides all which, the political superiority of England had been too lately felt in the East, and especially in Palestine itself, to allow a people whose suspicions have been sharpened by long oppression and servitude, to disconnect the movement from ambitious projects of worldly policy, to which they might remember that religion had been sometimes made subservient.

These considerations will excuse the reasonable apprehensions of the Armenian patriarch⁵, who, contrary to his usual courtesy, took occasion, on the first ceremonial visit to the English prelate, to express a hope that if any disaffected member of his church should sue for admission to our communion, the applicant might not be received without previous reference to him. They might even palliate an offence which it was right to feel more keenly. The same dignitary had

³ The Latins went very far: conformed to the Greek practices, attended their services, made handsome presents of sacred vestments and vessels to their churches, aided their clergy, educated children in their faith, until they found a favourable opportunity of throwing off the mask, and declaring themselves openly.

⁴ The early afternoon service in Arabic, on Sundays, established by the American missionaries at Jerusalem, and "regularly attended by some twenty or thirty Arab Christians, of the Greek rite," (Bib. Res. I. 332,) was

a novel method of convincing the clergy and laity that they did not wish "to draw off members of the Oriental Churches to Protestantism." Ibid.

⁵ I do not mean that the Greeks were not equally jealous, but they had the art or good taste to conceal it. Or perhaps they did not so much fear the defection of their people, who in the case mentioned in the last note, and in a case mentioned in speaking of the Latins, seem not to be easy until they have returned to their own church after a temporary separation from it.

one day entertained an English clergyman with a tirade against the ambition of the Roman pontiff; a favourite subject with his holiness, and had expatiated on the evils which the "schismatical proceedings of popish emissaries had produced in the East." Had he felt any doubt on the subject before, a very slight knowledge of facts would have sufficed to convince any one but a Roman Catholic of the justice of these observations, and the Englishman warmly assented. He was somewhat startled by a rejoinder for which he was not at all prepared: "Now this is exactly what the Archbishop of Canterbury is doing." A most positive and almost an indignant disavowal of such intentions, with an appeal to his Grace's express declaration, was of course the ready reply; but it is only by a long and consistent course of action, with patient forbearance and forgiveness of *prejudices* however unwarranted, that the minds, whether of Greeks or of Armenians, will be disabused of the suspicion of sinister intentions which our enemies have produced, and appearances seemed, in some measure, to justify; while on the contrary, any assumption of superiority to which the English are so prone, any uncanonical invasion of the patriarchal jurisdiction¹, or lastly, not merely the invitation, but the reception of proselytes, must defeat its own object, and widen still more the breach which separates us from the Eastern Churches. It is, unhappily, too true, that the doctrinal errors of some, and the corrupt practices of all, which they are not at all prepared either to acknowledge or repudiate, forbids the hope of any speedy approach to reconciliation; but no good will accrue, either to the communities or to individuals, by creating fresh

¹ This may be thought to have been sufficiently guarded against; but I deeply regret to say that claims have been urged, on grounds not acknow-

ledged by any church, which must do infinite mischief if they should once be known.

divisions among them. All experience has shewn, that reformation, to be productive of extensive and permanent advantage, must commence with the head, and be conducted in an orderly manner, with all the consideration and deliberation which so solemn a work demands. We may be permitted to hope that the demonstration of a better way, in a spirit of simplicity, meekness, and love, by a Church which, whatever be her deficiencies, we believe to have been, on the whole, remodelled after the pattern of the primitive and purest ages of Christianity—and so equally free from those later innovations and additions which grieve us in them, and from those modern corruptions and defects which scandalize them in others—may, in process of time, dispose them to review their sacred books by the light of God's word, and ultimately lead to the removal of those blemishes in their holy services for which they can find no warrant in catholic antiquity, and which, however excused in individuals, cannot but be displeasing in his sight who has said, "My glory will I not give to another²." But however these practical abuses which we deplore must present an insurmountable barrier to an union; yet so long as those who have been baptized and educated in the obedience of those churches can live as Christians within their pale, without committing themselves to what is positively sinful, so long must they continue where God's providence has placed them, seeking the good of their church in such ways as they can; so long would it be a sin to tempt them to a schismatical separation from those who are "over them in the Lord." The mere preservation of these venerable branches of his

² From what I have seen of the Eastern Churches, I should say that the greatest practical grievance is the invocation of saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin. Concerning the vene-

ration of pictures, see Dr Pusey's able note, and the authorities there quoted, appended to the Translation of Tertullian, in the Library of the Fathers, (Vol. I. p. 109, note B.)

Church throughout the East, furnishes both a proof that God has not left himself without a witness among the disciples of the false prophet, and a strong presumption that he has still a work of mercy in store for them, when he shall "look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine," so long wasted and devoured, that, being watered with the dew of his blessing, it may "take deep root and fill the land,...that the hills may be covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof be like the goodly cedars,...and that she may send out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river." May God hasten the time!



APPENDIX, No. I. (*See page 21.*)

SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE LAND OF PROMISE.

I AM thankful to be able to throw light on a subject so much involved in obscurity as this has been ; and the reader will, I am persuaded, feel deeply grateful to my friend, the Rev. J. Rowlands, for his most valuable communication, and will congratulate him that his most persevering efforts were crowned with such complete success.

I shall introduce the long extract from his very interesting letter by a few notes of a journey which we took together, which is alluded to more than once, and which will serve, I hope, to render his geographical remarks more intelligible. Our object was the southern boundary of the Holy Land. In the autumn of 1842 we left Jerusalem for this excursion, and having secured the services of Sheikh Salim of the Teahars, we quitted Hebron about mid-day, on Monday, the 3rd of October, and passing Ziph, Kirmel (Carmel), Main (Maon), we encamped, at a quarter past five, at a place called 'Ayn 'Gowain, in Wady Gophain. Leaving this place on the following morning at seven, we descended at half-past nine into the plain of Malehk, and saw Tell Arad some miles to the S.S.E. Here we halted at a Bedouin encampment for three hours, then passed "Bir el-Malehk," a very old and well-built well, at three o'clock. Our way lay over a wide plain, bounded on the south by a range of hills, the country inhabited by the Kenites and Amalekites. Shortly before five we came to some water at a place called Arar (Aroer), and at a quarter past six encamped. Quitting this on the following morning at a quarter past six, we came, in two hours and a half, to the hills at the south of this large plain, crossing the first ridge of which we entered into an elevated plain called Wady Rakhmah, extending east and west ; having followed this for some distance, we halted at a well of the same name for three hours, and then proceeded southward. At three o'clock we turned to the left of our path, and having ascended a ridge, a scene of awful grandeur burst suddenly upon us with such startling effect as to strike us dumb for some moments. We found ourselves standing on a gigantic natural rampart of lofty mountains, which we could trace distinctly for many miles east and west of the spot on which we stood, whose precipitous promontories of naked rock, forming as it were bastions of cyclopean architecture, juttied forth in irregular masses from the mountain-barrier into a frightfully terrific wilderness, stretched far before us towards the south, whose horrors language must fail to describe. It was a confused chaos of chalk, and had the appearance of an immense furnace glowing with white heat, illuminated as it now was by the fierce rays of the sun. There did not appear to be the least

particle of vegetation in all the dreary waste: all was drought and barrenness and desolation. Immediately below was a wide and well-defined valley, called Wady Murreh, which some few hours to the east of this place divides into two, at a singularly formed hill called Moddera; the southernmost retaining its name, and running east into the Araba, the other, called Wady Fikreh, N.E. to the Dead Sea. We felt no doubt that we were standing on the mountain-barrier of the Promised Land, and this impression was confirmed by our Sheikh pointing out, some hours to the west, in a valley, the site of Kaddese, the Cadesh of Scripture, mentioned in the border. We much regretted that we could not now investigate further this interesting subject, but my friend was afterwards able to accomplish this journey, and has kindly permitted me to give the result of his researches, as communicated in a letter addressed to me at Jerusalem, dated from Malta.

Before proceeding to this it may be well to state, that on our return, we found Beersheba to be eight hours from the spot which I have described, nearly due north. Our course from Hebron had been about south by west.

“From Gaza our course was to Khalasa: on our way we discovered ancient *Gerar*. We had heard of it at Gaza, under the name of Joorf el-Gerâr (the Rush or Rapid of Gerar), which we found to lie three hours S.S.E. of Gaza, within Wady Gaza, a deep and broad channel, coming down from the S.E., and receiving a little higher up than this spot Wady es-Sheriah, from the E.N.E. Near Joorf el-Gerâr are traces of an ancient city, called Khirbet el-Gerar (the ruins of Gerar). Our road beyond to Khalasa lay along a plain, slightly undulated. This plain must be ‘the land of Gerar.’ Here we ‘sojourned’ for two days (one of which was a Sunday), with Abraham ‘in Gerar.’ *Khalasa* (ancient Chesil, I think,) must have been a very large city—the remains are very extensive—heaps of stones and portions of houses, &c. Our road from Khalasa was nearly in a direct line all the way to Suez, passing near the south-east extremity of Mount Halal. Two hours and a half from Khalasa is an ancient site, called Sepâta; only a few traces of a city, pottery, &c. This, I thought, must be Hormah, or ancient Zephath (Judg. i. 17), the Arabic form of which name would be precisely Sepât or Sepâta. Hormah was a name given it by the Jews; and the Arabs would probably, according to their usual practice, retain the ancient name. Chesil and Hormah are mentioned together in Josh. xv. 30. Hormah could not therefore be very far from Chesil, and the situation of Sepâta corresponds well with the great elevated plain of Serr (or Seir, where the children of Israel were chased before the Amalekites); it lies to the west of the mountains of Rakhmeh, which, as you remember, are to the west of Ain Rakhmeh, where we saw the wild Arabs. To the east of Ain Rakhmeh is the grand plain called *es-Serr*, which

must be the Seir alluded to in Deut. i. 44. The Amorites chased them down the western side of the mountains of Rakhmeh unto Hormah, or Sepâta, which lies near the border of the plain. From thence they returned southward to Kadesh. Deut. i. 45. Hormah is nowhere mentioned to be a border city. A few hours to the east of Sepâta (said to be three hours) an ancient site was mentioned to me, called Asloodg or Kasloodg, with some ancient walls, most probably ancient *Ziklag*. About a quarter of an hour beyond Sepâta we came to the remains of what must have been a very well-built city, called now Rohébeh, (the *e* in the middle having a broad sound). This, I have not the slightest doubt whatever, is ancient *Rehoboth*, where Abraham, and afterwards Isaac, digged a well, (Gen. xxvi. 18, 22). This lies, as Rehoboth did, in the land of Gerar. Outside the walls of the city is an ancient well of living and good water, called Bir Rohébeh. This, most probably, is the site, if not the well itself digged by Isaac. The city is not quite so extensive as Khalasa, but the ruins are much more considerable. Some portion of almost every house remains perfect—beautiful masonry. Mr Johns admired it greatly. It is of the Saracenic style. The Bedouins said it was once inhabited by Christians. About ten hours beyond Rohebeh, on our road (i. e. ten hours camel's pace), is a place called Moilahi (or Moilâhhi), a grand resting-place of the caravans, there being water here, as the name implies. It lies in one of two or three passages or openings in the very southernmost hills or southern border of the Land of Promise, which form the grand outlet from Palestine into the desert, or the grand entrance from the desert into Palestine, by which the great caravan roads from Akaba, Mount Sinai, and Suez, pass to Hebron and to Gaza. It may be ten or fifteen miles to the E.N.E. from the nearest extremity of Mount Halal. Shall I not please you when I tell you, that we found here Bir Lahai-roi. We slept one night close to the water, and my happiness would have been double what it was, if you had been with us. I remembered how much you had talked about Beer Lahai-roi during our journey to the south, and what desire you had to find it. Now I can tell you that I have found it, to my entire satisfaction. I have no doubt about it whatever.

Now for my proofs. (1) Moilâhhi lies on the great road from Beer-sheba to Shur, or Jebel es-*Sur*, which is its present name,—a grand chain of mountains running north and south, a little east of the longitude of Suez, lying, as Shur did, *before* Egypt (Gen. xvi. 7). (2) It is probable, from Gen. xvi. 14, that Bir Lahai-roi was not far from Kadesh: Moilâhhi is about twelve miles from Kadesh. But the grand settling point is its present name. The well has disappeared, and the “Bir” (well) very naturally has been changed into “Moi” (water): and, what is very remarkable, the Arabs of the country call it Moilahhi Hadjar (Hagar). The Arabs from the neighbourhood of Gaza called it Moilâhhi Kadésah, but the former insisted upon its true name being Moilâhhi Hadjar; and this, as they explained to me, not from the rocky mountains near, but

from the name of a person called Hagar : and to confirm this statement of theirs, they conducted us to the *house* of Hagar (Beit Hagar), where they said such a person lived. It is about half or three-quarters of a mile from Moilâhhi, in a ravine among the hills. It is certainly a curious place—its description is simply this : a square chamber of no great dimensions, excavated in the perpendicular face of a rock, at some height above the base : the entrance into this is by a passage bored through the rock from beneath, with a winding staircase of good steps cut in the rock, leading up into the middle of the floor of the chamber. Behind this chamber are three other small chambers connected with it, which may possibly have served as dormitories—not at all like tombs, nor shewing any evidence whatever of their having been a sepulchre. Its name is Beit Hadjar, or the house of Hagar. Whether Ishmael may have constructed this as a refuge for his mother after her final expulsion from Abraham's house, or whether Ishmael himself passed any of his time here, it is very difficult of course now to say, though the Bedouins maintain the former. This is certainly true, that “the wilderness of Paran,” where Ishmael is said to have dwelt (Gen. xxi. 21,) lies immediately to the south of this; a grand plain, bounded on the west by Halal and Yelek, on the east by the mountains or wilderness of Kadesh and Jebel el-Khirm, on the north by the southern hills of Judea, or rather of the *promised* (not of the *possessed*) land. This is *El-Paran*, or plain of Paran, alluded to in Gen. xiv. 6. This also is the country (excellent for pasture in some parts in the rainy season) where Abraham dwelt, *between* Kadesh and Shur—not at all the same country as Gerar, inferred (without any reason) from Gen. xxi. 1. Shur or Sur lies at its south-west extremity, and Kadesh at its utmost north-east extremity. This plain is the Paran through which the Hebrews came from Sinai on their way to Kadesh. Numb. xii. 16, and xiii. 26. The *wilderness* of Paran might possibly mean the hills bounding the plain to the east of it, and to the south of the wilderness of Kadesh, or, as I am rather inclined to believe, the wilderness of Kadesh was also called the wilderness of Paran from the adjacent plain, as it was called that of Kadesh from the *fountain* of Kadesh. Now, my dear friend, for *Kadesh*, my much-talked-of and long-sought-for Kadesh—you may conceive with what pleasure I tell *you* that I have at length found out this important and interesting locality to my entire satisfaction. Our excitement (I can speak at least for mine while we stood before the rock smitten by Moses, and gazed upon the *lovely stream* which still issues forth from under the base of this rock,) would be quite indescribable. I cannot say that we stood *still*—our excitement was so great that we could not stand still—we paced backwards and forwards examining the rock and the source of the stream, looking at the pretty little cascades which it forms as it descends into the channel of a rain-torrent beneath, sometimes chipping off some pieces of the rock, and at other times picking up some specimens, and some flowers along a green slope beneath it. The rock is

a large single mass or a small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it rising immediately above it—it is the only *visible* naked rock in the whole district. The stream when it reaches the channel turns westward, and, after running about 3 or 400 yards, loses itself in the sand. I have not seen such a lovely sight anywhere else in the whole desert—such a copious and lovely stream. I took two vials full of it away with me. Shall I send you *one*? I think I must do it, if you *will* not go and see Kadesh yourself. But I must give you some particulars about the locality of Kādēs, or Kūdēs, as it is called. I shall therefore first of all describe its *position*, and then adduce my proofs for its *identity* with ancient Kadesh-Barnea. The waters of Kādēs, called Ain Kādēs, lies to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles (or four and a half hours by camel) to the E. S. E. of Moilāhhi. I think it must be something like due south from Khalasa. But to the *proofs*, which is the most important point.

1. Its name Kādēs, or Kūdēs (pronounced in English Kaddāse or Kuddāse), is exactly the Arabic form of the Hebrew name Kadesh; the *K*, as you will find both in the Hebrew and the Arabic, not being the common Kāf, but Kōf, and giving the *a* a sound somewhat resembling a short *u*.
2. The locality corresponds with or falls in the line of the southern boundary of the Promised Land, (Josh. xv. 1, 8,) from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, by Safaa or Maaleh Akrabbim, the Wady el *Murra*, and the Wady el Arish, or the river of Egypt.
3. It corresponds also with the order in which the places of the border are mentioned. Adar and Azmon, two places in the border, which we have discovered in the names of *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh*, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh, now and perhaps always merely fountains or springs, lie to the west of Kādēs, and Wady el Arish, or river of Egypt, succeeds in the same line.
4. It lies *east* of Jebel el Halal, or Mount *Halak*, mentioned somewhere by Jeremiah as the uttermost extremity of the Promised Land to the south.
5. It lies at the foot of the mountain of the Amorites, (Deut. i. 19).
6. It is situated near the grand pass or entrance into the Promised Land by the Beer Lahai-roi, which is the only *easy* entrance from the desert to the east of Halal, and most probably the entrance to which the Hebrews were conducted from Sinai towards the Land of Promise.
7. A good road leads to this place all the way from Sinai, and the distance is about five days of dromedary-riding, or about ten or eleven days of common camel-riding, as the Bedouins stated (Deut. i. 2).
8. A grand road, still finer, *I was told*, by broad Wadies, goes from Kādēs to Mount Hor (Numb. xx. 22).
9. The nature of the locality itself answers in every respect to the description given of it in Scripture, or rather inferred from it—the mountains to the east of Kādēs, and some very grand ones to the south, called Jebel Kādēs, “the wilderness of Kadesh;” the rock, the water, and the grand space for encampment which lies to the south-west of it, a large rectangular plain about 9 by 5, or 10 by 6 miles,

and this opening to the west into the still more extensive plain of Paran. But enough of Kadesh. I must hasten on to Suez, without making many notes or comments on our journey. We were three days getting through the plain of Paran—the road was very fine—one could drive a carriage all the way from Khalasa or Beersheba to Suez, except in passing over the ridge of the range of Sur, into the regions of Africa, towards Suez—there the path is only too narrow.”

APPENDIX, No. II. (See page 104.)

DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM BY JOSEPHUS.

Τρισὶ δὲ ὥχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις, καθὰ μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγξιν ἐκυκλοῦτο· ταύτη γὰρ εἰς ἣν περίβολος· αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο, μέση φάραγγι διηρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μὲν, τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων, ὑψηλότερος πολλῶ, καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἰθύτερος ἦν. διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὀχυρότητα, φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαβίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο· πατὴρ Σολομῶνος ἦν οὗτος, τοῦ πρώτου τὸν νεὼν κτίσαντος· ἡ δὲ ἄνω ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν· ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα, καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφειστώς, ἀμφίκυρτος. τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἀκρας, καὶ πλατεῖα φάραγγι διειργόμενος ἄλλη πρότερον· αὐθις γε μὴν καθ' οὓς οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι χρόνους ἐβασίλευον, τὴν τε φάραγγα ἔχουσαν, συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῆς Ἀκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποιήσαντο χθαμαλώτερον, ὥς ὑπερφαίνοντο καὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱερόν· ἡ δὲ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ, ἣν ἔφαμεν τὸν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ. οὗτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν, γλυκεῖαν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὔσαν, ἐκαλοῦμεν. ἔξωθεν δὲ, οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγξι περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν. Τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον, διὰ τε τὰς φάραγγας, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο, δυσάλωτον ἦν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου, καὶ καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαβίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων, φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου, καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. κατὰ θάτερον δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον χωρίου, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσῶ καλουμένου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλην, καὶ ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωάμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, καὶ διήκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλάν, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπται. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γεννάθ ἐκάλουν, τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὔσαν, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀνῆει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας. τῷ

τρίτῳ δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ ὁ Ἰππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατεΐνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθήκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων Ἀδιαβηνὴ βασιλὶς ἦν αὕτη, Ἰζάτου βασιλέως μήτηρ· καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνήμα· τῷ δὲ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή. πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξείρπε τῶν περιβόλων, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες, ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον προῆλθον, καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ· διαταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες· ὥς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας, εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν, καὶ ἦττον ὑψηλοί. διὸ δὴ καὶ πλείστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου· ἐπιχωρίως δὲ ἐκλήθη Βεζεθὰ τὸν νεώκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσση καυὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν πόλις.

. Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὑπερεῖχον οἱ πύργοι πήχεις εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἴκοσι δὲ εἰς ὕψος, τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τείχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα· τὰ δὲ μεταπύργια τούτων, ἀνὰ πήχεις διακοσίους. τὸ δὲ μέσον εἰς τεσσαρσκαίδεκα πύργους, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον εἰς ἐξήκοντα μεμέριστο· τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν. θαυμασίῳ δὲ ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους, θαυμασιώτερος ἀνείχε κατὰ γωνίαν βόρειός τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ ψήφινος πύργος, καθ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Τίτος. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὢν, Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρῆρχεν ἀφορᾶν, καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα. ὁκάγωνος δὲ ἦν. τούτου δὲ ἀντικρυς ὁ Ἰππικὸς, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν δύο κατεσκευάσθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τείχει. . . . Τηλικούτοι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος, πολὺ μείζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τύπον· αὐτὸ τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τείχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμετο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφὴ τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανεῖχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἦν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δὴ τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον. . . . κειμένοι δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴ προσέζευκτο, παντὸς λόγου κρείσσων. οὔτε γὰρ πολυτελείας, οὔτε κατασκευῆς τινὸς ἔλιπεν ὑπερβολή. ἀλλὰ τετελείωτο μὲν ἅπανα τριάκοντα πήχεις τὸ ὕψος, κύκλῳ κατ' ἴσον διάστημα κεκοσμημένοις δὲ πύργοις διείληπτο, ἀνδρῶσί τε μεγίστοις, καὶ εἰς ξενῶνας ἐκατοντατρικλίνους· ἐν οἷς ἀδιήγητος μὲν ἡ ποικιλία τῶν λίθων ἦν. συνῆκτο γὰρ πολὺς ὁ πανταχοῦ σπάνιος· θαυμάσαι δ' ὀροφαί, μήκει τε δοκῶν καὶ λαμπρότητι προκοσμημάτων. οἴκων δὲ πλῆθος, καὶ διαφοραὶ σχημάτων περὶ τούτους μυρία· πᾶσι γε μὴν ἀποσκευαὶ πλήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν ἐν ἐκάστοις κειμένων ἐξ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. περίστοα δὲ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλὰ, καὶ στύλοι πρὸς ἐκάστῳ διάφοροι· τὰ γε μὴν τούτων ὑπαιθρα πανταχοῦ χλοερά. καὶ ποικίλαι μὲν ἔλαι, μακροὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν περίπατοι, καὶ περὶ τούτους εὖριποι βαθεῖς δεξαμεναί τε πολλαχοῦ χαλκουρρημάτων περίπλεοι, δι' ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξεχείτο, καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰ νάματα πύργοι πελειαδῶν ἡμέρων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐθ' ἐρμηνεύσαι δυνατόν ἀξίως τὰ βασιλεια, κ. τ. λ.

Ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία, κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. δεδομητο δ' ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπήχους μὲν ὕψος, περικρήμνου δὲ πάσης. ἔργον δ' ἦν Ἡρώδου βασιλέως, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ ρίζης ἢ πέτρα πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων, εἰς τε κάλλος, καὶ ὡς ἀπολισθάνοι πᾶς ὁ προσβαίνειν καὶ κατιέναι πειρώμενος. ἔπειτα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομήσεως, τριῶν πηχῶν τείχος ἦν, ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ τούτου, τὸ πᾶν διάστημα τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις ἡγείρετο. τὸ δὲ ἔνδον βασιλείων εἶχε χώραν καὶ διάθεσιν. μεμέριστο γὰρ εἰς πᾶσαν οἶκων ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρήσιν, περίστοά τε καὶ βαλανεία καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐλὰς πλατείας, ὡς τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν τὰ χρειώδη, πόλεις εἶναι δοκεῖν, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ δὲ βασιλείων. πυργοειδὴς δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα, κατὰ γωνίαν τέσσαρσιν ἐτέροις διείληπτο πύργοις· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβριῇ καὶ κατ' ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ κείμενος ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. καθὰ δὲ συνήπτο ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις· δι' ὧν κατιόντες οἱ φρουροὶ, καθῆστο γὰρ αἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διϋστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοὰς μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, τὸν δῆμον ὡς μὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη παρεφύλαττον. φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερόν, τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν, τὰ Ἡρώδου βασιλεία. ἡ Βεζεθὰ δὲ λόφος διήρητο μὲν, ὡς ἔφη, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας· πάντων δὲ ὑψηλότατος ὧν μέρει τῆς καινῆς πόλεως προσάκιστο, καὶ μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἄρκτον ἐπεσκότει. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐθις εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἕκαστα προτεθειμένος, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀποχρώντως εἴρηκα. Joseph. Jewish War, Book V. Chap. iv. Sect. 1, 2, &c., and Chap. v. Sect. 8.

DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM BY TACITUS.

[Titus] igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum positus, instructas legiones ostentavit.

Judæi sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri; et, si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus, ambigue certavit. Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prœlia serebant; donec assiduis damnis, intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi: neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium operiri: poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles, immensum editos, claudebant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis, abrupta: et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes; inter devexa, in centenos vicenosque

attollebantur; mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus mœnia, regiæ circumjecta: conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.

Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios: ipsæ porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus. Præviderant conditores, ex diversitate morum, crebra bella: inde cuncta, quamvis adversus longum obsidium; et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstrare. Atque, per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum, empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace, tamquam ad bellum; magna colluvie, et ceterarum urbium clade aucti: nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima mœnium Simon; mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant; templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes, ac Simon; Eleazarus loco pollebat. Sed proelia, dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur: ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec, propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Tacit. Hist. V. 10, 11, &c.

APPENDIX, No. III. (See page 147.)

EXTRACT FROM JUSTIN MARTYR CONCERNING JUDAIZERS.

Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων πάλιν, ἐὰν δέ τις, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπίστασθαι δηλονότι, καὶ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, βούλεται καὶ ταῦτα φυλάσσειν, σωθήσεται; ἐπυνθάνετο.

Κἀγὼ, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὃ Τρύφων, λέγω ὅτι σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης περιτμηθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς πείθειν ἀγωνίζηται, ταῦτα αὐτῷ φυλάσσειν, λέγων οὐ σωθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξωσιν· ὅποιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων καὶ σὺ ἔπραττες, ἀποφαινόμενος οὐ σωθήσεσθαί με, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξω.

Κἀκεῖνος, διὰ τί οὖν εἶπας, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ μὴ τι εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι οὐ σωθήσονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι;

Εἰσὶν, ἀπεκρινάμην, ὃ Τρύφων, καὶ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ὁμίλιας ἢ ἐστίας τοῖς τοιούτοις τολμώντες· οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ σύνναιός εἰμι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ ὅσα δύνανται νῦν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως, ἀ διὰ τὸ σκληροκάρδιον τοῦ λαοῦ νοοῦμεν διατετάχθαι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτον

τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλπίζειν, καὶ τὰς αἰωνίους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας φυλάσσειν βούλονται, καὶ αἰρώνται συζῆν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, ὡς προεῖπον, μὴ πείθοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε περιτέμενσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, μήτε σαββατίζειν, μήτε ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτά ἐστι τηρεῖν, καὶ προσλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ κοινωνεῖν πάντων, ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχθοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, δεῖν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. ἔαν δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, ὃ Τρύφων, ἔλεγον, ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα νόμον ἀναγκάξωσι ζῆν τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνων πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, ἢ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συναναγωγῆς αἰρώνται, ὁμοίως καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι. τοὺς δὲ πειθόμενους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ἔννομον πολιτείαν, μετὰ τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογίαν, καὶ σωθῆσθαι ἴσως ὑπολαμβάνω. τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογήσαντας καὶ ἐπιγνόντας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἡτινιοῦν αἰτία μεταβάλλοντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἔννομον πολιτείαν, ἀρνησαμένους ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ πρὶν τελευτῆς μὴ μεταγνόντας, οὐδ' ὅλως σωθῆσθαι ἀποφαίνομαι· καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ζῶντας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ πιστεύοντας πρὶν τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου οὐ σωθῆσθαι ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνομαι.—Justin Martyr, *Dialogus*, Sect. 47, pp. 142, 3. Paris Ed. 1742.

APPENDIX, No. IV. (*See page 331.*)

ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE "CHURCH OF THE PURIFICATION" BY JUSTINIAN, FROM PROCOPIUS.

Ἐν δὲ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν τῇ Θεοτόκῃ ἀνέθηκεν ὥπερ ἄλλο εἰκασθῆναι οὐδὲν οἶόν τέ ἐστιν· νέαν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ὥπερ δὴ ὁποῖόν ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν, ὡς ἡ πόλις λοφώδης μὲν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπλείστον. οὐ γεώδεις δὲ οἱ λόφοι εἰσὶν· ἀλλ' ἔν τε τραχεῖ καὶ ἀποκρήμνῳ ἐπανεσχέκασιν, τὰς ἀμφόδους ἐν κλίμακος τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρθίου ἐς τὸ πρηνὲς κατατείνοντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἐνὸς χωρίου συμβαίνει εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ λόφου πεποιημένα, ἢ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον τῆς γῆς· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ἐπέστελλε γὰρ αὐτὸ Ἱουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι γενέσθαι τῶν λόφων, δηλώσας ὁποῖον τά τε ἄλλα δεήσει καὶ τὸ εὖρος αὐτῷ καὶ μήκος εἶναι· οὐκ ἀπέχρησέ τε κατὰ τὴν βασιλείως ἐπίταξιν πρὸς τοῦ ἔργου τὴν χρεῖαν ὁ λόφος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀπελέλειπτο πρὸς τε ἄνεμον νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ ὀργαζέιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θέμις. διὸ δὴ ἐπενόουν τάδε, οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο· ἀπορρήψαμενοι τὰ θεμέλια εἰς γῆς τῆς ὑπτιᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκοδόμημα πεποιήνται συνεπανεστηκὸς τῷ σκοπέλῳ. ἐπειδὴ τε ἄνω κατὰ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν ἐγένοντο,

τῶν τοίχων καθύπερθε θόλους ἐκδέμενοι, συνάπτουσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει. ταύτῃ τε ὁ νεὸς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρὰς ἱδρύται, πῇ δὲ ῥώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμει μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῷ λόφῳ. ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας οἱ λίθοι οὐ τοιοῦ δέ εἰσι μέγεθος, ὁποίους ἴσμεν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οἱ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε διαμαχόμενοι, ὕψος δὲ ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ σκοπεῖν διαπονούμενοι, τῶν ξυνειθισμένων ὀλιγωρηκότες ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνώτα ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐχώρουν· πέτρας οὖν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, ἅπερ οὐρανομήκη ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις ἀνέχει, ξύσαντές τε αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως, ἐνταῦθα ἦγον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀμάξας μὲν ταῖς πέτραις ἐτεκταίνοντο μεγέθει ἴσας. ἓνα δὲ λίθον ἐνετίθεντο ἀμάξῃ ἐκάστη. βόες τε ἀριστίνδην πρὸς βασιλέως ἐξειλεγμένοι κατὰ τεσσераκόνα σὺν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τὸν λίθον ἐφέιλκον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς ταύτας δὲ φέρειν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐκτέμνοντες ἐπιπλείστον τὰ ὁρῇ, ἐσιτητὰ ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις ἀμάξαις ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε περιμήκη ἀπειργάσαντο τὸν νεῶν, ἥπερ βουλομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦν. εὐρὸς τε αὐτῷ κατὰ λόγον πεποιημένοι, τέγος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς ἡκιστα εἶχον, ὀρυμούς τε οὖν καὶ δάση πάντα περιῶντες, καὶ εἰ πού τι χωρίον ἡκούετο οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις, ὕλην τινὰ εὐρον ἀμφιλαφῇ, κέδρους φέρουσιν ἐς ὕψος ἐξικνουμένας ἀπέραντον ὅσον. αἷς δὴ τὴν ὀροφὴν τῷ νεῷ ἔθεντο, ὕψος αὐτῷ κατὰ μέτρον πεποιημένοι, ἐς ὅσον τε εὐρύνεται καὶ ἐς τὸ μήκος ἐξάγεται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπείᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξειργάσατο. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς ἀμειβομένη αὐτὸν τῇ τιμῇ· καὶ ξυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἱερῷ πανταχόσε κίνων ἔδει, τὸ τε εἶδος οὐκ ἀποδεόντων τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος κάλλους, καὶ τοιούτων τὸ μέγεθος, οἳ δὴ ὄντες ἀντέχειν ἐς τὸ ἄχθος τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν ἔμελλον. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ κειμένη τῆς θαλάσσης πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ὄρεσί τε παταχόθεν ἀποπεφραγμένη ἀποτόμοις τισίν, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἄπορον τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὸ ἔδαφος ἐποίει κίονας ἐτέρωθεν εἰσκομίζεσθαι. ἀλλὰ βασιλέως δυσφορουμένου τῇ τοῦ ἔργου ἀμχανίᾳ, λίθου φύσιν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγχιστα ὄρεσιν ἔδειξεν, ἡ οὐσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἡ νῦν γενομένην. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δὲ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει πάντα σταθμώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμεθα· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἄπορον, οὐτ' ἀμήχανον γένοιτο. Κίωνων τοίνυν ἐνθένδε μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπερμεγέθων τε καὶ ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρὸς τινα φλόγα, πανταχόθεν ὑποστερίζουσι τὸν νεῶν· οἱ μὲν ἔνερθεν οἱ δὲ ὕπερθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς στοὰς αἱ περιβάλλονσι τὸ ἱερὸν ὄλον, πλὴν τῆς πρὸς ἑω τετραμμένης πλευρᾶς· ὧν περ δύο ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεῶ θύρας ὑπερφυεῖς ἀγάν, καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ τῇ πάσῃ κίνων ἴσως οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι· στοὰ τις ἐκδέχεται ἐντεῦθεν ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὠνομασμένη οἶμαι, τῷ μὴ ἐϋρύνεσθαι. αὐτὴ μετὰ ταύτην κίσιν ὁμοίοις ἐν τετραπλευρῷ ἀνεχομένη· θύραι μέταυλοι ἱερο-

περὶ οὕτως, ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἔξω ἰοῦσιν ὅποιφ ποτὲ θεάματι ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι. προπύλαια δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε θαυμάσια οἶα, καὶ τις ἐπὶ κίωνων δυεῖν ἐπαιρομένη ἀψὶς ἐς ἄφατον ὕψος· προϊόντι δὲ πρόσω ἡμίκυκλα δύο, ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωπα ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁδοῦ ἐστᾶσι. ξενῶνες δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον ἄτερος μὲν ξένοις ἐνδημοῦσι καταλντήριον· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἀναπαυστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ προσδόφ' ἐτίμασε χρημάτων μεγάλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένα αὐτῇ πη ἔσχεν.—Procopius de *Ædificiis Justiniani*, Lib. v. Cap. vi. Vol. II. p. 465.

APPENDIX, No. V. (See page 441.)

ABSTRACT of a "Description of the Boundaries of the Apostolic See of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and of the Dioceses subject to Him; composed by the command of the Most Blessed Patriarch, Athanasius, by his Secretary the Monk Anthymus, in Jerusalem, 1838;" contained in the Appendix to the second part of A. M. Mouravieff's *Travels to Jerusalem in 1830*. 4th edition. St Petersburg, 1840. Translated from the Russ for the present work, by the Reverend R. W. Blackmore, Chaplain at Cronstadt to the Honourable Russia Company. 1844.

GENERAL BOUNDARIES.

The Patriarchal See of Jerusalem, and the Dioceses subject unto it, are included in the following ancient Provinces.

I. Phœnicia or Libanesia. It commences from Mount Lebanon, and extends to the river Eleutherus, *Bezor* (Nahr Zerka, near Cæsarea).

II. Palestine. The plain which commences at Cæsarea, and terminates at Larissa of Egypt, el-Arish; it also includes the mountains of Judæa.

III. Judæa. This mountainous district commences at the *Valley of Aylûn* and extends to Bir es-Sebâ, for one day's journey on the road which leads to the desert of Suez, above Gaza.

IV. Idumæa. It extends from the southern shore of the Dead Sea to the Wilderness of Paran, towards the south-west.

V. Samaria. A hilly district from the valley of Besor to the village of Jenin and Scythopolis (Beisân).

VI. Galilee, extends from Scythopolis to the source of the Jordan, that is, to Cæsarea Philippi (Bâniâs), and the mountains of Antilebanon

in length; and from Mount Carmel to the boundaries of Syria and Arabia in breadth.

VII. Arabia; *Petræa*. The mountains beyond Jordan to the north of the Red Sea, which extend to Antilebanon. Mount Sinai is included in it.

I. *The Diocese of the Patriarch.*

The Diocese of the Patriarch of Jerusalem lies in the middle of these ancient provinces, as a central point. It begins at Ramleh, and making a circle to the north, terminates with the River Jordan. A hundred villages are included in it, but Christians live in only eight of them.

	Orthodox Inhabitants.	Native Priests.	Native Churches.
Jerusalem	600	6	The Ointment-bearers, and St Mary Magdalene.
Ramleh	300	2	St George.
Beit-Jâla, 200 families	= 1000	4	St Nicholas.
Râm-Allah, 200 families	= 1000	3	St Mary the Virgin.
Bîreh	5 (attend at Râm-Allah).		Large Church in ruins.
'Ain-'Arîk, 30 families	= 150	(no priest,	but a church served from Râm-Allah).
El-Taiyibeh	200	1	St George.
Rümmôn	5		(ruined Church).
Jifna, more than 400 families =	2000	2	St George.
Bîr-Ebzaî	50	1	One Church.
Sanie (es-Sâmieh), 10 families =	50		

II. *Cæsarea of Palestine. The First See.*

The boundaries of this Diocese extend in length from the Plains of Haifa on the sea-shore to Antipatris (*Arsûf*), and in breadth from the Mediterranean to the mountains of Samaria. Mount Carmel is included in them.

Haifa..... 30 Orthodox Families = 150 souls.

III. *Scythopolis. The Second See.*

This Diocese extends in length from Mount Carmel to the Jordan, and in breadth from the Sea of Tiberias and the brook Kishon on the south, to the mountains of Samaria. The villages containing Christians are as follows:

	Families.	Orthodox Inhabitants.	
Jenîn	20	= 100	No resident Priest, but a Church.
Burkin	100	= 500	A Priest, and a Church.
Kefr-Kud	20	= 100	No Priest, and no Church.
Zâpata	30	= 150	No Priest, but a Church.
Jezreel (Zerîn)...	10	= 50	No Priest, (ruined Church).
Nain	2	= 10	No Church.

IV. *Petra of Arabia. The Third See.*

This Diocese begins at the northern part of the Dead Sea, and extends to the eastern parts of the desert of Arabia, from whence it turns south to the mountains of Moab, reaches the Red Sea, and includes Mount Sinai; then returns to the southern shore of the Dead Sea, where its limits terminate with the Diocese of Bethlehem. The village of Kerack alone contains any Christians.

About forty years ago the Arabs took the place and murdered all the inhabitants except the Orthodox, who having there enjoyed an unusual degree of liberty, had increased in numbers, and had a Church under the invocation of St George, and two Priests. In 1834 it was taken by Ibrahim Pasha, who transferred the Christians to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Two years since they were allowed to return to Kerack, but war and emigration had reduced their numbers to 200 families, who have neither Church nor Priest. We have endeavoured to supply these deficiencies.

V. *Ptolemais. The Fourth See.*

This Diocese is situated in Phœnicia, and beginning from the maritime village of Zephra, extends to the east to the summit of Mount Rammon, on the southern side of which is situated the village of Ramma: thence it turns to the south-west, and terminates at the mouth of the river Kishon, near Haipha. The bishop Procopius, who resides in a monastery in the town, exercises jurisdiction over the Christians in the following villages. He also is in the habit of visiting other Dioceses as Exarch, confirming the orthodox in their faith, and inspecting their Churches.

	Families.		Souls.	
Ptolemais or Acre...	100	=	500	A Priest, and Church of St George.
Ebraweh	100	=	500	A Priest.
Jente	25	=	125	A Priest.
El-Mekr	12	=	60	Attend Divine Service in other villages.
Kefr Yásif	300	=	1500	A Priest, and a Church.
Abu Senán	60	=	300	A Priest, and a Church.
El-Bussah .....	...		20	A Priest, and a Church.
Sex Matta .....	...		20	A Priest, and a Church.
Dar Secha .....	...		20	A Priest, and a Church.

The following villages lie on the hill side, and are called "Jebel Safed:"

El Bukeiáh .....	...	130	A Priest, and a Church.
Makhus	5	= 25	No Priest, a Church cut in the solid rock.
Er Rámeh .....	...	400	A Priest, and a Church.
Sūkhniñ .....	...	30	A Priest, and a Church.
'Aleibân .....	...	300	A Priest, and a Church.

VI. *Bethlehem. The Fifth See.*

The boundaries of the Diocese of Bethlehem are as follows: beginning from the valley which lies near the city of Bethlehem to the north, they extend to the east as far as the Dead Sea; from thence they go to the south, including the whole of Idumæa and Judæa Proper, Jebel-Khūlil, and turning to the west, extend to the north, embracing all the mountains of Judæa to the *Brook Etham*. They terminate to the east at the village of *Beledj*, called in ancient times Bezek; and from thence pass through the valley and the brook of Bethlehem to the city itself. The bishop Dositheus resides in the convent at Bethlehem. The orthodox Christians are,

Orthodox.

Bethlehem.....	280	Three Priests, and a Church.
<i>Pimenas</i>	600	A Priest. Church in ruins.

VII. *Nazareth. The Sixth See.*

The boundaries begin at that city, and extend to the south to the large brook which flows between Nazareth and Ptolemais; thence they pass to the southern base of Mount Tabor, and return to the west direct to Nazareth, forming a kind of triangle.

Orthodox.

Nazareth.....	1000	Two Priests, and a Church.
A'bilin	400	Two Priests, and a Church.
Yâfa	400	One Priest, and a Church.
Ma'lûl, 60 families	= 300	A Church.
Er-Reineh	500	One Priest, and a Church.
Kefr Kenna	100	One Priest, and a Church.

N.B. This is a peculiar of the Patriarch.

VIII. *Lydda. The Seventh See.*

Commencing from Lydda, the boundaries extend straight to the east of the village till they reach the village 'Abûd, from whence they turn direct to the north, keeping the mountains of Samaria on the right, and go as far as *Mount Irkan*; after this, turning to the west through a valley, they approach the borders of Ephraim, and from thence again reach Lydda.

Orthodox.

Lydda.....	100	Two Priests, and a Church.
'Abûd.....	150	Two Priests, and a Church.

IX. *Gaza. The Eighth See.*

The boundaries of the Diocese of Gaza commence from the river Rûbin, and extend south to the river Azmon, otherwise called Rino-

corura, and the River of Egypt, (Wady el 'Arîsh). This river separates the Patriarchate of Jerusalem from that of Alexandria; extending themselves hence to the east as far as the mountains of Judæa and Idumæa, and afterwards to the north, the boundaries terminate near the sources of the River Rubin, from whence they commenced. Christians are found only in Gaza.

Gaza..... 30 families = 150 souls. A Priest, and a Church.

X. *Sinai. The Ninth See.*

Mount Sinai depends on the Patriarchal See of Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Sinai is consecrated in Jerusalem, as are all the Archbishops dependent on the Patriarch; their Deacons and Priests also come to Jerusalem for ordination.

(The boundaries and villages of this See are not described.)

XI. *Joppa. The Tenth See.*

This Diocese is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, on the east by Ramlah and Lydda, on the north by Antipatris (Arsûf?) and the brook which falls close by it into the sea, on the south by the River Rûbin. There are no villages inhabited by Christians.

Jaffa contains 300 Orthodox, a Priest, and Church of St George.

XII. *Neapolis (Nablouse). The Eleventh See.*

The boundaries of this Diocese commence at the large valley behind Zipha to the south, and reach the village of Abut, where the brook flows into the Jordan. On the east it has the plain of Jericho, on the west the large plain of Palestine; it borders on the Dioceses of Lydda and Cæsarea, and to the north on that of Sebastieh, being separated from it to the south by a great and dry valley, distant one hour's journey from Sebastieh.

Orthodox.

Nablouse.....	300	Two Priests, and Church, St Demetrius.
Rufidia	200	A Priest, and a Church.
Faraon.....	40	No Priest, and no Church.

XIII. *Sebastia. The Twelfth See.*

Bounded on the east by the plains of Jordan, on the west by the extremity of the tribe of Ephraim, where Samaria also terminates; on the south by the large valley between Sabastia and Nablouse; on the north by the fortress of Sanur, and the village of Kûbâtiyeh.

Orthodox.

<i>Nous-Ezbin</i> (Nuss Ijbeil)...	200	A Priest, and a Church.
Beit Imrin	50	A Priest, and a Church.
<i>Jinistnia</i>	60	No Priest or Church.

XIV. *Tabor. The Thirteenth See.*

This Diocese commences at the western foot of the Holy Mountain of that name, and extends eastward to the sea of Tiberias. On the right is the great river Kishon, on the left, to the north, the hills of Safed.

Orthodox.

<i>Mezetel</i>	40	A Priest, and a Church.
<i>Sedgere</i> (esh-Shajrah)	60	A Priest, and a Church.
'Aulâm, or Ulama	250	A Priest, and a Church.

XV. *Philadelphia. The Fourteenth See.*

The Bishop of Philadelphia is subject to the Metropolitan of Petra. This Diocese is bounded by the hills beyond Jordan, separated towards the north by the River Jabbock (Wady Zūrka), and to the south by the River Arnon (Wady el-Môjeb).

Orthodox.

Es-Salt.....	400	A Priest, and a Church.
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There are many villages in this Diocese, but few are inhabited by Christians, of whom there are not more than from five to ten families in a place.

We should here remark, that all the Priests who are ordained to the above-named villages, receive from the Patriarch a band for the head, and all the utensils, from the first to the last, required for the Divine Service.

N.B. I have put in Italics such names as I have not been able to discover in Maps, or in Mr Smith's Tables in the Appendix to Vol. III. of the Biblical Researches, by which I have corrected the orthography, which had suffered materially in its passage from Arabic to Greek, Russ, and English.

DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT LOCK AND KEY.

The iron padlock, of which a sketch is annexed, was found in 1839 in the fosse of the ancient tower, commonly called the Tower of David, at Jerusalem. It was forwarded to His Imperial Majesty by the Russian Consul at Jaffa, as being a very curious and perhaps unique specimen of ancient mechanism.

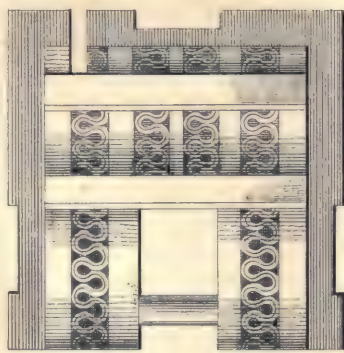
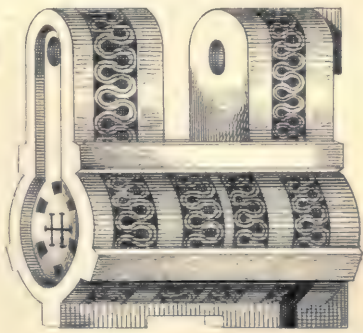
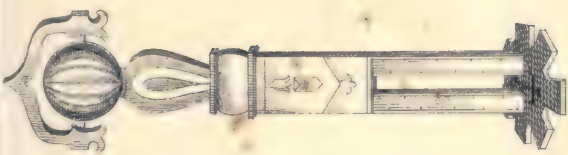
The lock itself is of forged iron, of a square form, weighing about $38\frac{1}{2}$ Russian pounds, and in size $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ English inches. The mechanism is enclosed in a cylinder between three and four inches in diameter. The key, five pounds in weight, five inches in diameter, and thirteen in length, is introduced through an opening in one of the iron ends of the cylinder, and at a certain distance from the entrance the wards or projections of the key press six springs, simply and ingeniously constructed, and by keeping them compressed permit the removal of that end of the padlock to which the bolt adheres, leaving the interior visible. To lock it, the key has simply to be withdrawn; compression being removed, the springs instantly return to their grooves, and no way of opening can be used except that of breaking the lock or applying its own key.

The exterior of the lock is covered with a grooved pattern, into which, in all probability, ornaments were soldered. On its disinterment, the channels were filled with an earthy substance so much hardened by time, that it could with difficulty be extracted.

On the lower extremity of the lock, and at the end of the bolt are cavities in which it is evident that escutcheons have been fastened, as the end of the key still bears the traces of incrustation in copper and silver.

Its form, weight, and the manner by which it must be attached, prove that it can only have been made use of to fasten a large door or gate, such as that of a city or tower.

Does not the double cross on the key indicate that at the time of its manufacture the Christians were yet masters of Jerusalem? The arms of the city were a double cross d'or on a field argent. Its perfect preservation may be accounted for by the extraordinary thickness of the metal, the mechanism being so completely concealed in the depth of the cylinder that the rust could with difficulty reach it, especially if we bear in mind the dryness of the soil in southern latitudes.



LOCK & KEY.

Dug up from the moat of the Castle of David at Jerusalem.

Dug up from the moat of the Castle of David at Jerusalem.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	B. C.		B. C.
JERUSALEM founded.....	1913	Aristobulus succeeds	106
Visited by Abraham.....	1872	Alexander Jannæus	105
Conquest of Canaan by Joshua...	1415	Alexandra	78
Jerusalem taken by David.....	1048	Hyrcanus II.....	69
Solomon	1015	Pompey marches upon Jerusalem,	
Dedication of the Temple	1004	and declares the State tributary to Rome	63
Rehoboam	975	Antipater rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem	44
Invasion of Shishak	971	Julius Cæsar murdered	44
Abijah.....	958	Hyrcanus II. deposed	40
Asa	955	Herod the Great	37
Jehoshaphat	914		A. D.
Jehoram	889	Archelaus	2
Jerusalem sacked by Philistines.	887	Judæa becomes a Roman province	12
Ahaziah	885	Agrippa receives the kingdom from Claudius	44
Athaliah	884	It again becomes a Roman province	47
Joash, or Jehoash.....	878	Nero.....	54
Amaziah	837	Jerusalem besieged by Cestius ...	66
Uzziah fortifies Jerusalem	809	Titus encamps before it, and completes its destruction.....	70
Jotham	758	Adrian.....	117
Ahaz.....	742	— visits Jerusalem. Ælia Capitolina rebuilt.....	130
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